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CARDINAL McCLOSKEY

From the Painting by Healy

THE LIFE OF

John Cardinal McCloskey

FIRST PRINCE OF THE CHURCH IN AMERICA

1810-1885

BY HIS EMINENCE

JOHN CARDINAL FARLEY

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PREFACE

IT is now almost twenty years since I published the initial chapters of this *Life of John Cardinal McCloskey*. Shortly after his death in 1885, I began a biography of America's first Prince of the Church, but it was not until 1899, that a brief account of his life up to his return from Rome in 1837, appeared in the *Historical Records and Studies*. Since that time the increasing demands of official life have left me very little leisure for the work. When I wrote the article on Cardinal McCloskey for the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, I then determined to complete the biography, which I had always had in mind to publish, and so it was with great pleasure that I was enabled during the past two years to resume my studies for this volume.

From 1872 to 1884, I was Cardinal McCloskey's Secretary. During those twelve years it was my custom to write down with as little delay as possible all our conversations regarding his own personal history. Much that has entered into this biography has been taken from my diaries of that time. Cardinal McCloskey's own letters and diaries, meagre as they are in autobiography, have also been used. The ecclesiastical archives of Baltimore, Albany, Rochester, Buffalo and Newark, and the official archives of the Archdiocese of New York have all been diligently searched for documents that would illustrate the Car-

dinal's long life of seventy-five years. This search was a disappointment in one way. Cardinal McCloskey preserved very few of his own personal papers, and this may account for the lack here and there in these pages of that more intimate note which the reader would naturally hope to find.

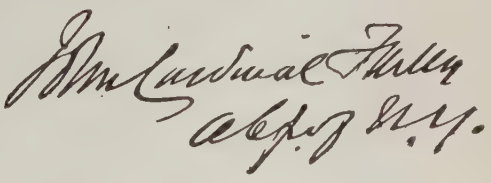
Cardinal McCloskey was above all, and through all, and in all, a man of God. He never sought the applause of the world or the honors of the Church. Life's great ends — peace of soul with God and preparation for the Kingdom above — were his constant thoughts. It was his to occupy the highest place within the gift of the Sovereign Pontiff. It was his to rule the great Archdiocese of New York, during those twenty years of Reconstruction that followed the Civil War. It was his to conciliate opposing elements both within and without the Fold, at a time when both Church and State needed all their forces to cope with the tide of immigration which was flowing into the country. New York loomed large in those days on the social and political horizon of the United States; and to him, who by general consent was looked upon as the first citizen of the metropolis, came many of the heaviest burdens which then harassed our land. And yet, no trouble ever robbed him of his soul's serenity. No difficulty ever marred the sweet tenderness of that face. He drew to himself all those that loved both God and the children of God. Thousands of unseen charities left his hands without the knowledge of anyone, even of those closest to him. There are living to-day some among the New York clergy, who were ordained by Cardinal McCloskey, and who hold his

name in benediction. He is still remembered by all as a prelate who combined in a very remarkable way the high dignity of his office with the affectionate gentleness of a child.

In Tennyson's famous tribute to his King, there are lines that may well be quoted to describe the character of America's first Cardinal:

> ". . . *we see him as he moved,*
> *How modest, kindly, all-accomplish'd, wise,*
> *With what sublime repression of himself,*
> *And in what limits, and how tenderly;*
> *Not swaying to this faction or to that;*
> *Not making his high place the lawless perch*
> *Of wing'd ambitions, nor the vantage-ground*
> *For pleasure; but through all this tract of years*
> *Wearing the white flower of a blameless life.*"

"The white flower of a blameless life" might well serve as an epitaph for John Cardinal McCloskey. He looked upon all life as a gift of God, — a divine gift placed within his own hands for the betterment of his fellow-man and for his own eternal happiness. How well he used that gift, it is the reader's pleasure to follow year by year in this biography.



Feast of the Immaculate Conception,
December eighth, 1917.

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The Life of John Cardinal McCloskey

CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS (1810–1821)

Catholic Life in New York in 1810. Birth of John McCloskey. His Parents. St. Peter's Church. Mrs. Charlotte Milmoth. Brady's School. Choice of a College. Departure for Emmitsburg

WHEN JOHN CARDINAL McCLOSKEY was born in the struggling little village of Brooklyn on March 10, 1810, the Catholic Church within the United States, of which he was to become the first red-robed Prince, numbered in all about seventy priests, eighty churches and one hundred thousand Catholics. During the seventy-five years of his life both at home and abroad, he was to witness a growth of Catholicity in America which has seldom been paralleled elsewhere. From one Archbishopric and four suffragan Sees at the First Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829, to the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884, held the year before his death, the Church in his beloved land developed into a hierarchy of fourteen Archbishops and sixty-one Bishops, with a Catholic flock of over ten millions. His life spanned almost the whole of that wonderful nineteenth century

which was so crowded with triumphs in the cause of religion in this country; and instead of the little band of Catholics who lived in and around New York in 1810, when John McCloskey was born, he was destined to rule over a province which has since become one of the most numerous in all Christendom.

The *Baptismal Register* of old St. Peter's Church, in Barclay Street, New York, contains the record of his baptism on May 6, 1810, and his name is one of thirteen children who received the waters of regeneration that day at the hands of Father Benedict Fenwick, S.J., who was to become fifteen years later, the successor to Cardinal Cheverus in the See of Boston. His sponsors were Patrick McCloskey and Elizabeth Clark. The parents of John McCloskey were both natives of County Derry, Ireland, and belonged to the better class of Irish farmers. His ancestors on his father's side lived for centuries in that part of the country, and many of them had entered the priesthood and the medical profession. Intellectual culture was traditional in the family. At Dungiven, the birthplace of his father, Patrick McCloskey, which was also the birthplace of the Irish patriot, John Mitchel, the old churchyard contains the headstones of the Cardinal's ancestors dating back more than a century. His mother was Elizabeth Harron. Tradition has it that she and her husband were related, and that this fact caused a certain amount of opposition on the part of the parish priest at Banagher, where Elizabeth lived. The young couple determined to be married in Derry and then to emigrate to the United States.

Ireland was then passing through one of the gravest

stages of the struggle for Catholic Relief. The Act of Union of 1800 had dispelled all prospects of Irish freedom, and with her trade restricted and her commerce destroyed, Ireland held few attractions for the young men and women of that day. Every path to honorable advancement in the professions was closed, and during the century preceding the Act of Union, Irish settlers had been forced to come to America to seek a livelihood. In 1818, Bishop Connolly of New York, estimated the Catholics there at sixteen thousand, and of these ten thousand were Irish. From 1776 to 1820, at least one hundred thousand Irish settlers reached this country.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find the parents of the Cardinal, shortly after their marriage in the Cathedral of Derry, in 1808, setting out for the land of new opportunities across the Atlantic. They left Ireland in the spring of that year, and settled with their compatriots in Brooklyn. Patrick McCloskey obtained a position as clerk in the firm of H. B. Pierrepont and Company, with whom he worked until his death in 1820. Mr. Pierrepont related with pride that when the British troops were contemplating the attack on New York in 1814, Patrick McCloskey directed the other employees in the work of constructing the fortifications then being erected on Forts Greene and Fisher. There was always a close friendship between the Pierreponts and the McCloskeys, and on one occasion when the Cardinal's mother was too ill to nurse him, Mrs. Pierrepont went to their house and remained to nurse the child till Mrs. McCloskey was restored to health.

At that time there were but two churches in the Diocese of New York, the Church of St. Peter's erected in 1786, in Barclay Street, where John McCloskey was baptized, and the Church of St. Patrick, the old Cathedral in Mulberry Street, then called the "New Church out of Town," erected in 1809. The Cathedral of St. Patrick was built for New York's first Bishop, Dr. Concanen, who was appointed to the See in 1808, and who died at Naples in 1810, without being able to cross the ocean at that time, on account of the wars. Father Anthony Kohlmann and Benedict Fenwick, both members of the Society of Jesus, were in charge of St. Patrick's. Father Kohlmann had been named by Archbishop Carroll as the administrator of the Diocese of New York, by virtue of the authority Bishop Concanen had sent to him from Rome. On July 23, 1808, Bishop Concanen wrote from Rome to Archbishop Carroll:

"I requested Your Grace, in the former letters, to be pleased to arrange matters in the best manner you can for my settlement in that Diocese [New York], and appoint a Vicar with all the necessary powers that you and I can delegate to him."

On the receipt of this letter (October 11, 1808), the venerable prelate of Baltimore appointed Rev. Anthony Kohlmann, S.J., to this position. The organization of the new Diocese was therefore in the hands of Father Kohlmann. The second Church, that of St. Peter, was older by a decade of years than St. Patrick's, and being nearer to Brooklyn, the McCloskeys attended it on Sundays. They were then obliged to

cross the East River in a rowboat, or by ferry. The Cardinal in a sermon preached in Brooklyn, drew a delightful picture of his early years, when his devout mother led her little boy by the hand on Sunday mornings down to the strand of the East River — Brooklyn had no wharves then — and crossed the stream in a rowboat or in the primitive ferry, that they both might attend Mass in the little red brick church in Barclay Street.

St. Peter's historic origin has already been told in the volume on the *History of St. Patrick's* (New York, 1908). As the first Catholic Church in the present limits of New York State, its history has not only a permanent place in the life-story of Cardinal McCloskey, but also bridges over the two centuries of missionary effort in New York with the present time when there are four hundred churches, for it is the mother-church of them all.

From the days of the Jesuit Missions in Upper New York, with their fascinating pages on the heroism of Fathers Jogues, Brebeuf, Bressani and others, down to the days of the American Revolution, it was impossible for any Catholic priest and especially for any Jesuit to celebrate Mass in what is now New York State. The six years of Governor Thomas Dongan's rule over the Province of New York were the only exception to this state of affairs. Father Thomas Harvey, S.J., had come out with Governor Dongan as chaplain and he was later joined by Fathers Henry Harrison and Charles Gage, both of the Society of Jesus. The Jesuit Mission of New York was abandoned during the Orange Rebellion of 1689–91. It is true that for a

century before 1784, the Jesuits of Maryland passed through New York on their way to and from Maryland and Quebec, but the infamous Law of 1700 rendered it impossible for any priest to minister publicly to the Catholics of that section. The earliest reference we possess of the beginning of religious toleration in New York is the work done by Father Farmer, who came there in 1783. The following year, 1784, the Law of 1700 "Against Jesuits and Popish Priests" was repealed by the State Legislature, and Father Farmer began celebrating Mass in the houses of Catholics. His little congregation is said to have numbered about eighteen communicants.

When Father John Carroll was made Prefect Apostolic of the American Church, on June 9, 1784, the Catholics were to be found principally in New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore. In the *Relation on the State of Religion in the United States* (1790) which Carroll forwarded to Cardinal Antonelli, we read:

"There are in Maryland about 15,800 Catholics; of these there are about 9,000 freemen, adults or over twelve years of age; children under that age, about 3,000; and about that number of slaves of all ages of African origin, called negroes. There are in Pennsylvania about 7,000, very few of whom are negroes, and the Catholics are less scattered and live nearer to each other. There are not more than 200 in Virginia who are visited four or five times a year by a priest. Many other Catholics are said to be scattered in that and other States, who are utterly deprived of all reli-

gious ministry. In the State of New York I hear that there are at least 1,500."

New York was the principal port of entry to the new Republic, and the little Catholic congregation there soon began to grow. Among the priests who ministered to the Catholics at this time were Rev. Charles Whelan, an Irish Capuchin, who was acting as chaplain to a Catholic Portuguese José Roiz Silva, one of the wealthiest merchants in the city. Father Whelan was invited to become pastor of the little congregation, but owing to the fact that he possessed no direct approbation from Propaganda, Father Carroll could not give him authority to hear Confessions or to administer the Sacraments. Father Whelan disregarded this regulation and acted by virtue of his own faculties as an Irish priest. Father Farmer who was then Vicar General for the New York district, protested against Father Whelan's administration of the Sacraments, but before any action could be taken, the question was settled favorably the following year. The New York Catholics, small though they were in number, felt that the Catholic priest over them should be a man capable of attracting public attention as a preacher; and, owing to Father Whelan's lack of ability in this regard, they negotiated with several Irish priests, with the result that Father Andrew Nugent, another Capuchin, came to New York in the fall of 1785, and became assistant to Father Whelan. A misunderstanding occurred between them, with the result that, by the pernicious system then in force, the trustees forced Father Whelan to yield his pastorate

to the newcomer. He retired to his brother's home in Johnstown, New York, and later went to live with the Jesuits in Newtown, Md. In 1787, he went to Kentucky where he had trouble with the trustees and left in 1790, returning to Maryland where he labored zealously at St. Mary's until his death on March 21, 1806. Among other priests in New York at this time were Father Seraphin Bandol, who officiated as chaplain in the French and Spanish embassies; Father Pierre Huet de la Valinière, who ministered to the French and Canadians in the city; Father McReady, who was assistant to Father Whelan; and Father John O'Connell, a Dominican, who acted as chaplain at the Spanish embassy.

The presence of the French and Spanish Ambassadors in New York gave an air of permanency to the Catholic life of the city and several attempts were made under their influence to organize a parish there. The first of these attempts was made on June 10, 1785, by Hector St. John de Crêvecoeur, José Roiz Silva, James Stewart and Henry Dutton, who were incorporated by an act of legislature into "the Trustees of the Roman Catholic Church in the City of New York." Father Whelan, acting on Mr. Silva's advice, bought a piece of property owned by the Trinity Corporation, at Barclay and Church Streets. Efforts were made to collect money in Ireland and France for the erection of the church. Shea tells us that the appeals to the French King appear to have met with no response, and the matter was taken up by Diego de Gardoqui, the Spanish Minister. A petition dated New York, September 3, 1785, was sent to King

Charles III of Spain, and was favorably received by the Spanish Prime Minister Floridablanca. On October 5, 1785, the cornerstone of St. Peter's Church, the first Catholic edifice in New York City, was laid in the presence of the Spanish Minister. On March 13, 1786, the Spanish King instructed Gardoqui to offer in his name the sum of one thousand pesos to the struggling congregation. The money, a large sum for those days, was paid later, in June, 1786, as is seen from a letter sent to Gardoqui by the trustees of St. Peter's.

In this letter we learn that a plan was suggested of sending a priest to travel through Mexico, in order to collect money for the new edifice. The names signed to the letter are the following: Dominic Lynch, Gilbert Bourke, John Sullivan, Andrew Morris, George Shea, Denis McReady, William Byron, and Charles Naylon. The trustees again addressed themselves to the Spanish Minister on October 28, 1786, announcing the early completion of their church and the arrangements which had been made to celebrate the first Mass on the King's feast-day, November 4, and they asked him to assist in person with his family:

"The magnificent liberality with which his Catholic Majesty had seen fit to grant not alone his Royal protection, but also the precious succor to the Congregation of Catholics which he has given towards the advancement of its church, furnishes to its administrators the happiness of offering to Your Excellency in their name and that of the Congregation in general their most sincere thanks; and to renew the profound respect with which all individually invoke the name of

His Catholic Majesty. They lack the means of expressing and of giving proof of their loyal recognition, and the only means which they find in their power is to ask Your Excellency a second time to please point out the place in the church which you like best for the erection of a tribune; and at the same time truly to assure Your Excellency that in spite of the many efforts which they have made in collecting alms, nevertheless it has not been enough to satisfy the desire which they have to see it completed. Nevertheless as they only wish to be able to manifest the zealous interest which inspires their humble gratitude towards His Catholic Majesty, they have exerted themselves to the utmost (and trust in God that their wishes will be fulfilled) in order to open the church on St. Charles' Day and to celebrate the first Mass in honor of His Majesty; and to this end they beg Your Excellency to honor us with your presence and with that of your family, which not only will serve as a great stimulus but which will also increase the zeal of our Congregation, the greater part of which, although numerous, has no means of finishing the church.

"We are, Sir, with the greatest respect, Your Excellency's most obedient and faithful servants."

The relations which existed at this time between Father Carroll and the Catholics of New York were somewhat strained owing to the action of the trustees in the matter of the appointment of a perm[illegible]nt pastor; but the description we have of [illegible]ng of St. Peter's Church shows that this u[illegible]ituation was forgotten in the joy the Cath[illegible]w

York City had in seeing their church completed. The ceremony, as described in a letter from Gardoqui to the Prime Minister Floridablanca, gives one the impression that the opening of the church was considered one of the celebrated scenes of early New York. High Mass was sung by Father Nugent, who was assisted by the Spanish and French embassy chaplains. Father Nugent preached a sermon of thanksgiving, and after the sermon Gardoqui gave a banquet at the embassy to which all men of note in the city were invited. As Prefect Apostolic of the United States, Father Carroll had been invited to the ceremony but was unable to be present, as can be seen in the following letter he wrote to Gardoqui:

"The magnificence of His Catholic Majesty and the noble favors which he has seen fit to grant to the Church of New York, united with my gratitude and natural attachment, cause me to take the honor of offering to Your Excellency (as representative of that great Prince) the due tribute of my gratefulness; and if it is not too daring a presumption I would go so far as to beg Your Excellency to accept the sincerest expression of gratitude and respectful veneration which dominates me; and, to tell the truth, the gift of His Catholic Majesty not only will live in posterity by the exercise of our religion, but will be the foundation for other establishments of the same nature. I hope from the constant prayers of those who enjoy the benefit of the bounty of his Majesty, that this great act will merit that Heaven pour down its benedictions on His Catholic Majesty, His posterity and His king-

dom; and if to these sentiments of most profound gratitude towards the generous kindness of His Majesty be united the vivid remembrance of the person through whom the effect of the same has been received, then I humbly beg Your Excellency to rest assured that I shall never forget how much our faith owes to Your Excellency's active and powerful recommendation. The untoward event which has prevented me from receiving in time the invitation with which I was honored by the Congregation for St. Charles' Day was deeply regretted by me because it deprived me of the opportunity of expressing to Your Excellency the great respect and esteem with which I have the honor of being the most obedient and humble servant of Your Excellency.

J. Carroll

Baltimore, *November* 14, 1786."

The trustees of St. Peter's were not long deceived by a man of such uncertain character as Father Nugent, and they appealed to the Prefect Apostolic to remove him. In 1787, Father Nugent's faculties were withdrawn, and Father William O'Brien, a Dominican, was appointed pastor of St. Peter's. Father O'Brien's appointment created a schism among the parishioners, and Father Nugent refused to surrender his post. Dr. Carroll went to New York in order to settle the difficulty; a scene took place in the church itself and he was obliged to suspend Father Nugent, warning the congregation not to attend his Mass. Dr. Carroll then went to the Spanish embassy to say Mass and the greater part of the congregation followed him. The matter was settled by the withdrawal of Father Nugent,

and Father O'Brien was left in charge. Shortly after peace had been established between them, Father O'Brien set out for Mexico and South America to collect money for his church. During his absence the parish was in charge of the Rev. Nicholas Bourke. With the money Father O'Brien had collected, the interior of the church was completed and the pews were offered for sale in the spring of 1794. His labors for the church undermined his health and in September 1800, the trustees wrote to Bishop Carroll asking for an assistant. Rev. Dr. Matthew O'Brien, a fellow-Dominican, was chosen. Shea tells us that the congregation had greatly increased by this time and steps were taken to erect a steeple; an organ had been procured; regular instructions were given in Catechism, and there was serious thought at that time of erecting a second church. In 1796, the trustees endeavoured to have the converted minister Father Thayer appointed assistant of St. Peter's, but Dr. Carroll knew that Father William O'Brien was reluctant to receive him and refused to send him. It was on March 25, 1805, that Mother Seton was received into the Church by Father Matthew O'Brien at St. Peter's. A very serious riot took place on Christmas eve, 1806, when St. Peter's was the scene of an anti-Catholic demonstration.

The Diocese of Baltimore was divided by the Holy See in 1808, and the news reached New York that the learned Dominican Richard Concanen had been appointed Bishop of New York. It was in this same year as we have seen that Archbishop Carroll, acting under the authority given to him by Bishop Concanen,

appointed Father Anthony Kohlmann, S.J., Vicar General and Administrator of the Diocese of New York. In 1809, on account of the increase of the Catholic population, it was found necessary to erect another church, and the cornerstone of St. Patrick's pro-Cathedral was laid on June 8, of that year. St. Patrick's was destined to be the Cathedral of New York and to meet the needs of those Catholics who had settled outside the city. The project was well received, especially because the Cathedral was to bear the name of Ireland's patron saint. Among the names on the subscription list is that of Cornelius Heeney, who became guardian of John McCloskey after his father's death in 1820. On his arrival in his diocese in the autumn of 1815, the Right Rev. John Connolly, O.P., the second Bishop of New York (1814–25), found a vast field open to his apostolic zeal, with but little advancement in the way of ecclesiastical organization. Besides the two churches in New York City, there was a priest in the missions of New Jersey, a church with a resident pastor in Albany, another at Utica, another at Carthage, and a numerous body of Catholics in Buffalo.

It was about the time of Bishop Connolly's appointment to the See of New York that John McCloskey became of school-age, and the problem arose in the family circle of moving across the river to the city of New York where the Catholic educational facilities were greater. The first rudiments of letters as well as of religion he received from his mother at home. From his frequent recollections in after years of the numerous occasions when Father McCloskey went to his mother

for advice, and from the confidence he so often expressed in her judgment, we can easily conclude that she was a woman of more than ordinary piety, prudence and intelligence. The first of his school-years was spent in Brooklyn, where he entered a school in old Red Hook Lane in that city. Later he attended a select school for boys, kept by Mrs. Charlotte Milmoth. Mrs. Milmoth was a retired English actress and a convert to the Catholic faith. Her name is recorded in Stiles' *History of Brooklyn*, where it is stated that she was a native of England. While at boarding school, she married the actor Courtney Milmoth. The marriage was unhappy, and after separating from her husband, she played at Covent Garden in 1774 and at Drury Lane in 1776. She enjoyed a distinguished reputation in London and Edinburg, and at Dublin she was a popular favorite for many years. Her first appearance on the American stage was in 1793, in the old John Street Theatre, in New York. She was a woman of very refined taste, and after leaving the stage, she purchased a cottage in Red Hook Lane which she subsequently turned into a school for boys. The cottage stood between Carroll, Clinton and Henry streets. Her pupils belonged to the best families in New York, among them being boys of the Cutting, Cornell, Pierrepont, Jackson and Luger families. The children boarded in the school during the week and returned home for the week-end. After some ten or twelve years in Brooklyn, Mrs. Milmoth died in October, 1828, at the age of 72. She is buried in old St. Patrick's Churchyard.

Mrs. Milmoth took such pains to make her pupils

enunciate distinctly that the Cardinal even in his advanced years often recalled her, and used to say that his enunciation, which all admitted was remarkable for its distinctness, was due to his early training in this school. When he was about seven years old, his parents moved from Brooklyn to a house in St. Peter's parish, in Murray street, New York, and John McCloskey became a pupil in the Latin school of Thomas Brady, the father of the late James T. and Judge J. R. Brady. Mr. Brady the elder, had a great admiration for the profession of the law and he often told Mrs. McCloskey that her boy was his brightest pupil. "I'll make John," he said, "the ornament of the New York bar." A favorite expression of his, often repeated to the Cardinal's parents, was: "If I had twenty sons, I would make lawyers of them all." In fact, two of his sons, James and John, are among the celebrated jurists of the New York bar.

At the completion of his preliminary studies in Mr. Brady's school, the question of selecting a college was seriously considered by the Cardinal's parents. At this period of his life, he had fallen under the strong, manly influence of Dr. Power, then pastor of St. Peter's Church. On the occasion of the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of his ordination, the Cardinal asserted: "From my boyhood upward, Dr. Power was ever to me a kind and affectionate father, and in my mature years a trusty counsellor and friend."

There were at this time in the United States but three Catholic colleges for higher studies — Georgetown College, St. Mary's University, Baltimore, and Mount St. Mary's College at Emmitsburg, Md. Georgetown

College was the oldest permanent Catholic educational establishment in the United States. It was opened in 1791, and since 1805, the year of the restoration of the Society of Jesus in Maryland, it has been in charge of the Jesuits. In 1821, when John McCloskey was of an age to begin his collegiate training, Georgetown had already a hundred students, and the curriculum included studies which he needed, namely, elementary classes preparatory to the full academic course. St. Mary's College, Baltimore, was begun by the Sulpicians as early as 1793–94, but was discontinued for a time, lest it should interfere with Georgetown College. It was reopened in 1800, but no American boys were admitted, the students coming mainly from the West Indies and Spanish America. In 1803, American boys were admitted, and in 1805, the college was raised by an act of the Maryland Legislature to the rank of a university. St. Mary's University drew its students mainly from Maryland, and, though under Catholic control, opened its doors to non-Catholic students. Mount St. Mary's College at Emmitsburg, — the "Mountain," as it is known all over the United States today, was also founded by the Sulpicians. It was opened in 1808, with Father Dubois, who became the third Bishop of New York (1826–1842), as its first President. These three Catholic institutions were all equally well-known, with this exception that Georgetown College and St. Mary's University were considered, and quite naturally, as preparatory schools to the priesthood.

John McCloskey was too young at this time, being then eleven years old, to know his vocation with abso-

lute confidence; and it may have been this factor which finally inclined his mother to send him to Emmitsburg. From the Cardinal's letters, it would seem that his father had already discerned the signs of a priestly vocation in his son and had decided to send him to Georgetown College. "Had this plan been executed," says Dr. Clarke in his *Lives of the Deceased Bishops*, "it is probable that the gentle and plastic character of young McCloskey would have tended to his joining the Society of Jesus. But the course of events was turned in another direction."

Mr. McCloskey died in 1820, at the age of forty-five, and was attended in his last illness by Father Peter Malou, S.J., the assistant at St. Peter's. In after years the Cardinal used to speak with great affection of the devotedness of this good priest, and told that during the six weeks his father's illness lasted, Father Malou never allowed a day to pass without calling on the dying man. The Cardinal's love for the memory of the zealous priest was enhanced by the fact that it was this Jesuit Father who prepared him for his First Communion. Father Malou had an interesting history. He was a native of Belgium and belonged to a leading family, was an officer in the army, and rose to the rank of general in the revolt of the Belgium provinces against Joseph II. of Austria. He had been married in early life and had two sons. The Cardinal remembered as a boy being taken by Father Malou into his room and being shown the portraits of these two boys. On the death of his wife, General Malou made provision for his two sons and entered the Society of Jesus under an assumed name,

as a lay-brother, at the novitiate at Dünaburg in White Russia. It was whilst he was employed in the garden of the novitiate that a chance visitor who had served under him, recognized his old General and gave him the military salute, and this led to the discovery of his real name and rank. After this the humble lay-brother, under obedience, prepared himself for the priesthood. In 1811, he was sent as a missionary to the United States. One of the two sons of General Malou became a Senator in Belgium, and a son of this Senator became Bishop of Bruges. The close friendship between this priest and the McCloskey family, and the veneration with which the boy regarded him, must have had a lasting influence, and no doubt contributed much to develop in John the vocation to priesthood.

After his father's death (1820), Mrs. McCloskey conferred with John's school-master, Mr. Brady, and with another friend of the family, Mr. Riker, who had so ably defended Father Kohlmann in the celebrated Confessional Case in New York in 1813, on the question of a vocation for her son. Mr. Brady advised her to send him to a law school, but Mr. Riker disagreed with this plan. "I will not advise you not to put your son to the study of law," he said, "but I will say that there are more young lawyers starving than are making a living honestly. They begin with the best intentions, but they must work. All kinds of cases come to them and all kinds are taken by them. The temptations are very great — too great for many to resist. If you can put your son to something else, I would advise it." The Cardinal stated in later life that he was also entered for examination

at Columbia College at this time. Mr. Riker knew the boy too well to subject his sensitive and delicate nature to the study of law, and his guardian, Mr. Cornelius Heeney, at one time a partner of John Jacob Astor in the fur trade, took advantage of a visit of Father Dubois to New York to settle the matter. John McCloskey was called one day in the summer of 1821, from Brady's School to the Orphan Asylum on Prince Street, where Father Dubois was staying, and was presented to the President of Mount St. Mary's. The whole affair was quickly settled, the decision being that he should enter Emmitsburg the following September. The Cardinal often related that Father Dubois placing in his hands an open Breviary, asked him to translate the passage before his eyes. The result of this brief examination was not satisfactory, but he was assured that whatever defects he had would be remedied at the "Mountain."

Sometime after the death of her husband, Mrs. McCloskey and her children moved from Brooklyn to Bedford, in Westchester County, New York, where she obtained a farm adjoining the estate of the eminent American statesman, the Hon. John Jay. It was here that John McCloskey spent his vacations during his years at Emmitsburg. The McCloskey farm will be the scene some seven years after his entrance into Mount St. Mary's of an accident which was to change the whole course of his life. In September 1821, he set out from New York with two other boys, named Byrne and Connolly. He was at this time in his twelfth year. His entrance into College took him away from the surroundings of his home and away

from the influence of his mother, of whom he was passionately fond. It placed him in that unique world, which has its own subtle means of bringing out all that is best in a boy and repressing that which may be detrimental to his future — boy's life at College.

CHAPTER II

STUDENT DAYS AT THE MOUNTAIN (1821–1834)

Entrance at Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg. Reports of His Progress. Speech on Patriotism. Graduation. Uncertainties. The Accident of the Logs (1827). Choice of a Vocation. His Mother's Advice. Return to Emmitsburg. Philosophical and Theological Studies. His Note-books. Retreats. Prefect and Teacher. Sermons. "Simple Advices from an Old Friend." Ordination to Priesthood (1834).

JOHN McCLOSKEY entered Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg — the "Mountain," as it is always called by its alumni—in September, 1821. Shortly after he had left home, his sister started for the convent school at Emmitsburg. "Another name," we read in the *Story of the Mountain*, "was added to the muster-roll of the College in 1821–1822, which was destined to shed a lustre over the old Alma Mater and the older Church. John McCloskey of New York, not yet twelve years old but far advanced in his studies, sought a welcome from the President. The future Cardinal was a frail, delicate lad, and it was hoped that the Mountain air would strengthen him. He won the admiration and esteem of his teachers and the respect and love of his college-mates by the piety and modesty of his character, his gentleness, and sweet disposition, the enthusi-

asm with which he threw himself into his studies, and his prominent standing in class. He grew strong, physically, too." It is not difficult to picture the boy of eleven who is here described. Never very robust, with a charming poise, a subdued manner, modest in his talk, and careful never to offend, the boy's chief characteristics were but a sign of what the man, priest, prelate, and prince was to be to the end. It would be a priceless page, had we a description of those years at Emmitsburg, when John McCloskey had as his teachers and as his companions, priests and students, who are today the glory of the American Church. In the "Valley" lay in eternal repose the remains of Mother Seton, whose conversion at St. Peter's in Barclay Street, was still being discussed when John was born, and who was baptized at the same font as himself. John Hughes, whose Coadjutor he was to become twenty-three years later, had entered the Mountain in the autumn of 1820 as a student, and after having spent a year there as a special student, was then teaching Latin and mathematics in the college and was Prefect of the study-hall, where the young McCloskey sat day by day preparing his lessons. Bishop Dubois of New York (1826–42), and Bishop Bruté of Vincennes (1834–39), the Founders of the Mountain, were President and Vice-President respectively of the college when he entered. Among his fellow-students were: John Baptist Purcell, later Archbishop of Cincinnati (1833–83); Father Constantine Pise, who became a prominent writer and the only Catholic chaplain ever appointed to the United States Senate; and Father

Michael De Burgo Egan, the nephew of Bishop Egan of Philadelphia.

John McCloskey spent thirteen years at Emmitsburg, and naturally any writings or traditions we possess for the history of this period are very valuable to the biographer. Unfortunately, what is in our possession is very meagre. Of letters to his mother and sisters during these years few have come down to us. All that has been preserved is a series of note-books and sermons. One tradition is that, when he was being confirmed by Archbishop Maréchal at Emmitsburg, in 1823, the Archbishop patted him on the head and said: "That head will wear a mitre yet!" His name is found among the prize-winners at the distribution of premiums on June 27, 1822. At that time there were a hundred boys in the college. In 1824, we have the following report of John McCloskey's standing:

"Piety: a child yet. Religion: more attentive than formerly. 3rd. Latin: Excellent. 2nd. French: Applies and succeeds. Geography: excellent; attention and improvement. Rational arithmetic: excellent; seems to have a peculiar talent for studies of this kind. Behavior: Much better than formerly; much improved; unexceptionable. Temper: Mild but easily led away and artful when led away. Influenced by example. Generally mild and amiable. Application: Very good. Excellent manners. Engaging."

Another notice of his progress is found placed under the year 1829, by the author of the *Story of the Mountain*, but it doubtless refers to an earlier period of his life there:

"J. McCloskey. 3rd. English. Has lately joined. Can study if he will. Good memory, good manners, agreeable, disposition good. Latin Grammar: Talents and application good; Very attentive; Disposition excellent. 5th. French: joined a few days ago; given specimen of excellent judgment. Writing application and conduct: satisfactory. 3rd. Arithmetic: Succeeds very well."

The four years of college life came to a close in 1825. In the latter part of July, of that year, President Dubois called the graduating class into the large study-hall, for the final examination. That class consisted of four students: Richard Vincent Whelan, later Bishop of Wheeling; Francis Xavier Gartland, later Bishop of Savannah; Edward Sourin, who later became a Jesuit, and who died in the odor of sanctity in 1891; and John McCloskey.

It is not difficult to see a link between the memorable visit of Lafayette to the United States in 1824–25, and a well-written *Speech on Patriotism*, which John McCloskey delivered the year of his graduation. The original copy of the speech consists of seven closely written pages; the handwriting displays the boy of fifteen. The speech, which is here copied from the original manuscript, deserves to be preserved to the credit of the boy who was capable of writing it. There could have been no doubt at the Mountain of his intellectual future:

"Being called upon to deliver my sentiments on patriotism, a subject in which have so frequently been exercised talents, the most brilliant, and which,

at the same time has given rise to so many of the most beautiful productions, were I solely to consider my own incapacity, I should rise with feelings far different from those which I, at this moment, entertain. When I consider before whom I now appear, and to whom I now address myself, the extreme diffidence which otherwise, I could not but experience, is in a great measure removed. I am perfectly aware that among all here present, there is not one, who would be so ungenerous as to regard with a scornful, and I might say with even a criticising eye, this my first attempt, or be so unreasonable as to expect of my years and inexperience sentiments as correct as those of persons of a more advanced age and consequently of a more mature judgment. On this plea, therefore, I hope that whatever may be advanced by me with incorrections, will be looked upon with lenity and benevolence. I have already mentioned that on the subject of patriotism many great and enlightened geniuses both ancient and modern have displayed themselves. Of all these there is not one, in my opinion, who has with greater precision, and at the same time with greater brevity, set forth the character and principles of the true and disinterested Patriot, than the celebrated Roman poet, Horace, in the following passage: *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.* Sweet and glorious it is to die for one's country. That it is sweet I shall endeavor to prove in the first part; that it is glorious to die for one's country shall be the subject of the second.

"In order to be convinced of the truth of this great maxim we need only examine the history of those

brave and worthy heroes who lived to promote, as they died to defend, the interests of their country. Where is the man who, when he reads the history of one whose entire life has been devoted to the enhancement of his country's good and his country's welfare, whether in the field or in the cabinet, of one who has shed the very last drop of his blood in defence of those sacred and inviolable rights which distinguish the freeman from the slave, rights which it is the duty of every one to protect, the rights of liberty, where, I say, is the man who when he hears of such a personage, when he hears that it was in such a cause, that it was in defence of his country he died, will say that his death was not sweet, since it was that of a patriot? *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.* The pages of ancient as well as of modern history are replete with the most striking examples of this great and glorious virtue. Amongst the ancients may I not justly adduce as a remarkable instance the patriotism of that illustrious Roman, Cicero, who was remarkable alike for his patriotism and eloquence, for we find that he not only received the appellation of *Oratorum Princeps*, but was also styled *Pater Patriae*. In this great man we see combined the wisdom of the statesman and the valor of the patriot. When we examine his history, we find that his country was his all, that on her happiness depended his tranquility, and on her misfortunes depended his misery. Prompted by that ardent love he bore toward his country, he boldly refused to submit his manly neck to the degrading yoke of a tyrant, and by this means to deliver up his inestimable birthright, liberty, into the hands of a cruel and unjust

oppressor. Such conduct, however, served only to aggravate the savage ferocity of Antony, and thus this greatest of orators, and one of the greatest of patriots fell a victim to his own magnanimity; and as for his country he lived, so also for his country he died. Such was the character of a heathen, a character which even a Christian would not blush to possess.

"Look also at those valiant and illustrious heroes who fell in defence of their country, on the plains of Thermopylae, with whom expired the last remains of Spartan liberty. Hence we see that at an age when mankind, blinded by superstition, entertained but very imperfect ideas of real virtue, was cherished and cultivated this noblest of human virtues. I say virtue, for after God we owe everything to our country. But when we examine the annals of more modern days, when we read the history even of our own country, how many instances do we not find of this description. To enumerate them would be a task as useless as it is tedious.

But it would certainly be an insult to your feelings, and a fault of which I would not wish to be guilty, to pass over a subject such as the present, without reminding you of the illustrious Montgomery and our still more illustrious Washington. The former, though not by birth an American, rather than see the rights of an innocent and unoffending people trampled upon by a British tyrant, chose to hazard his own life in defence of their liberty. And to his lot, alas, it fell to perish in the conflict! But who is there, acquainted with the circumstances of this man's death, will say that it was not sweet? Where is he within whose

bosom beats a heart whose every pulsation tells him that he is a freeman, that would not be eager to meet a similar fate, to die the protector of his country, to die a Montgomery? Of Washington, however, it was the good fortune to behold his country liberated by means of his exertions, and to live to receive the many thanks of a grateful people. We must not imagine, therefore, that death is a necessary concomitant of patriotism and that he alone is a patriot who dies for his country. For in what nation or in what age existed a patriot superior to our own immortal Washington? He died not in his country's cause but was willing at any moment to do so. In his heart nature had implanted that sincere and disinterested love of country, which shone conspicuous in all his actions, the source from which sprang, and the end to which, after God, he referred them all, and which nothing but death itself could eradicate. This in the hour of peace he asserted and this in the hour of danger he proved. At a moment when an invading enemy had victoriously marched into the very heart of our country, when desolation and destruction were approaching with more than winged swiftness, and despotism stood by waiting with savage anxiety the opportunity to fetter us with its enslaving chains and clap upon our necks its life-destroying yoke, what would have been America, what her fate, had not there been a Washington to protect her! When liberty, trampled upon, lay gasping under the feet of a merciless enemy, when her heroes lay bleeding in the dust unable any longer to protect her, where then, where now, would have been our country's

freedom had not a Washington existed, to snatch it from the ignominious fate which threatened it, and restore it to his almost despairing countrymen! When in return for this great and glorious act of heroism, a mighty nation was ready to cast itself at his feet, and in the paroxysm of joy and gratitude, fall down and adore him as her saviour and protector, what course did he pursue? Did he at that moment which was so favorable to him had it been his will, grasp at the sceptre? No! That wreath which had been woven by virtue and placed upon his brow by patriotism was never to be polluted by the indelible stain, which such a conduct would have inevitably stamped upon it. He preferred the sweets of his sequestered villa, to all the empty honors of the throne, he preferred the grateful thanks of his patriotic countrymen to the deceitful adulations of base and crouching sycophants, in fine, he chose rather to appear the honored and respected citizen than the sceptered monarch robed in splendor and magnificence. Was not this, Gentlemen, the true and disinterested patriot? Greece may boast of her Codrus or her Leonidas, Rome may boast of her Cicero, and America, if not with greater at least with equal justice, may boast of her ever-glorious and immortal Washington.

"That it is glorious to die for our country is a truth which certainly cannot be denied. Such has it been considered by preceeding ages and such by the present one. To say that the death of the patriot is inglorious, would be an assertion as improbable as it is absurd. Upon this, therefore, it would be useless

to dwell, as being a fact unanimously and indisputably granted. For there certainly exists no one who will say that he who has fallen by that very sword which was uplifted, to be let fall but for the destruction of his country, or who in struggling to protect her from the inroads of oppression, has breathed his last, who has either sacrificed his own life for the sole purpose of securing the lives of his countrymen, who like the Hector of former ages has preferred the toils and hardships of war to the enjoyments of all the sweets of domestic life and who in spite of the tears and entreaties of an almost distracted spouse, and disregarding the tender years of an only son, has rushed forth to the battle field to assert his country's freedom and fight his country's battles, that such a one has died a death which will not merit and will not be crowned with eternal glory? Let the envious lavish upon him all the calumnies which can be poured forth from their vile and impious lips, let them endeavour to brand his name with infamy or disgrace — they labor in vain. Still will his honor remain unsullied and his name be dear to every generous and patriotic bosom. Although the stroke of death may have borne him from amongst us, his memory is still with us. Though of his mortal body there remains nothing but the ashes, and to tell where those ashes lie remains nothing but the tomb which covers them, though even that tomb have moulded into dust and commingled with those same ashes which it once contained, though both have been carried off by the rapid and undistinguishing flood of time, still will his remembrance stand, and with that remembrance shall also stand his

great achievements and virtuous patriotism. To be convinced of this, we need but reflect on the examples which I have already adduced, on a Codrus or on a Leonidas, on a Cicero or a Demosthenes. Since the time when these illustrious personages existed, how many ages have rolled by, attended by various and numerous events, but which are now consigned to oblivion; how many have been delivered over to their respective graves, where they lie neglected and forgotten, and yet the names of these noblest of heroes still live. They unsheathed their swords to protect, and fell in defence of, their country. They expired in a noble cause. Their death, therefore, has been, and shall continue to be, considered glorious, and as such shall be looked upon that of every true patriot. May I not then most justly exclaim, *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*

"Ought not we, then my fellow-students, to whom has been granted the happiness of enjoying the greatest of blessings, namely liberty, learn at an early period to cultivate and cherish this noblest of virtues? For without patriotism, our freedom cannot long exist. By it America has obtained that liberty which she now enjoys, by it she has arrived at that height of glory in which she is now stationed, and by the cultivation of it alone has she caused herself to be looked upon as the equal of the most powerful nations of the universe. For of these Britain is perhaps the greatest; and Britain she fears not, for she is conscious, that in power, she is not her inferior. Her heroes are surpassed by none. In learned men perhaps, she equals neither France nor England. But Nature, when

she implanted in the breasts of Americans that love of country for which they are so eminent, has not neglected to inspire them at the same time with an equal love for literature. Although over America the sun of science has but just risen, still so replete is she with its beams, that she is already numbered amongst the most enlightened nations of the world. Europe hears of her and is astonished; she looks and admires. If then, at such a period her splendor be so great, what shall it be when that sun shall have attained its meridian height, and shines forth in all its meridian brightness? It shall be so dazzling that that of France or of England, which now appears so brilliant, shall dwindle into comparative obscurity. Yes; with such men America shall be provided.

"The noblest sentiments of patriotism dwell in the hearts of her people and are the guide of their actions. For long shall her freedom remain firm, unshaken and immovable, and where freedom is, there science flourishes, for there it is respected, there it is cultivated. But as soon as those sentiments are forgotten, liberty shall disappear and with her science also shall vanish.

"That this should happen no one certainly wishes. Let us, therefore, cherish patriotism, for by this means alone can we prevent the disaster. But where is the American that can be else than patriot? The graves of our forefathers admonish us that all these blessings and all the happiness which we now so peacefully are enjoying, are but the fruits of their labors and the reward of their patriotism, and that the continuance of these enjoyments can only be procured

by following their example. Thrice happy America, that hast given birth to a Washington who was thy liberator and thy protector! Mayest thou give birth to a people who will imitate so worthy a model, who, like him, will be ready at any moment to sacrifice themselves for thy interests! May such be thy people! And then may the world look upon thee and exclaim: Behold the birthplace of patriotism, the abode of science, land of liberty!"

The years immediately following his graduation from the academic courses at the Mountain, are somewhat uncertainly treated both by the historian of the college and by the Cardinal himself. It would appear that after graduation he returned home to New York and lived with his mother at Bedford, where she had taken a farm. He had not then made up his mind about his vocation in life. At that time he was tall and slender in appearance, with a broad forehead and pleasant features; his eyes were deeply set and of a bright color, his lips were sensitive and mobile, and he carried himself with a quiet impressive dignity which made him noticeable to everyone. From the information which we possess, it is certain that he returned to the college and studied philosophy during the academic year of 1825–26. On his return home in July 1826, the problem of his future career still remained unsettled. His mother's friend, Mr. Thomas Brady, who has been already mentioned, repeated his advice and urged the young student to take up the study of law. Meanwhile, Mrs. McCloskey had applied without her son's knowledge to some friends in New York to secure him a place in a counting-house.

John McCloskey spent the winter of 1826–1827 at home waiting for this opportunity, and it was during the summer of 1827 that he met with a serious accident which changed the whole course of his life. A farm-hand employed in drawing logs near the house, left his ox-team and loaded wagon unattended. John, who was then in his eighteenth year was passing by, and seeing no one about, got up on the wagon and started to drive the team. His lack of skill frightened the oxen and with a lurch the wagon was overturned and he was buried beneath the logs. When found, he was unconscious and remained in that state for several days. A long, anxious, and painful illness followed and his constitution never fully recovered from this dangerous accident. For many days he was totally blind and had to pass weeks in utter darkness. His mother's anxiety was increased by the fact that on the day after the accident, a letter arrived telling her that the much-coveted place in the counting-house was open to her son. "Divine Providence" the Cardinal afterwards said, "seems to have brought about the accident in order to prevent my entering the world." It was during this illness that he finally made up his mind to embrace the ecclesiastical state, and he made known to his mother the resolution to become a priest. His mother evinced little emotion or surprise, knowing the boy better than he did himself, but he saw that her heart was full of new and holy joy. "Till then," he said, when speaking of those early days, "I had never spoken openly to my mother of my intention to study for the priesthood and she felt that it was too delicate a matter to discuss with me

directly. I knew, however, how much it would delight her, if she were convinced that I had, of my own accord, made up my mind to embrace that holy state. She said to me, after a moment's reflection: 'John, you see what a priest has to suffer and how often he is treated ungratefully.' She alluded to the trustee war, then waxing to its height. It was altogether a stormy time for priests and bishops in New York. She concluded with these words: 'Now you see what you have to expect if you are a priest; so I hope you have well considered the step you propose to take.'"

His good mother spoke more wisely than she knew. The first great trial of priestly patience that came upon Father McCloskey after entering upon his missionary life in St. Joseph's, ten years later, arose from the very cause pointed out by her maternal solicitude. One may well assume that the wisdom of that warning was amongst his greatest consolations in the day of trial. He was found watching.

During the first five years of John McCloskey's residence at Mount St. Mary's College, it does not appear that he seriously entertained the idea of entering the priesthood. In a letter to a young friend and former fellow student, written when he had entered the seminary, he refers with deep feeling to the days when he had no such thought. "When I look back," he writes, "to those days which have passed so rapidly, and reflect on the several occurrences which attended them, there are few things which afford me greater pleasure. You may well remember that our first meeting was on board a steamboat going from Baltimore, and that we first saw Mount St. Mary's at the

same time. Little did we at that time anticipate that events would lead us to the condition in which we are both at present situated. Little did I think at that time, nay, little did I think at a later period, that I would be seated in the study-room of Mount St. Mary's studying in the same place with those whom I, at that time, felt more inclined to ridicule than respect. But Providence, by means unknown to me, has altered those mistaken notions, and I can never be too thankful for it. We are always inclined to regard the days of our childhood as the happiest of our lives, but I must candidly say that I never was happier than I am at the present moment."

He was evidently in love with his newly found vocation. In after life he used to say that there were two things which led him into the sanctuary after God. The first was the influence of Rev. Dr. Pise, whom he always admired and to whom the youth of the college were very much drawn. "He used to take me to walk with him in the 'bands,' and often spoke to me of the great benefit it would be to the Church in America, if the young men born or brought up in the country would devote themselves in larger numbers to the service of the altar. This was a constant theme of his in our conversations; and, whilst he never spoke to me directly about my entering the sacred ministry, his words were sinking deeply into my mind and producing their effect.

"Another thing which most of all decided me in the choice of a state of life was a remark of Rev. Mr. Egan (one of the faculty, who died in Marseilles in 1829), who took me aside just before I quitted the Mountain, after I had completed my collegiate course, and said to me:

'Remember this, John: if you once had a vocation and lose it through your own fault, you will have to answer for it.' These words never left my memory," said His Eminence solemnly. "They were constantly ringing in my ears. These two things after God's grace, or God's grace through them, made me a priest." But to "make not haste in the time of clouds" was characteristic of the Cardinal from his early years, and his final decision was not made without delay and due deliberation.

He returned to Emmitsburg as a seminarian and entered upon the study of theology in the fall of 1827. This we learn from a note-book marked *Vol. I., Seminary, October 1st, 1827*, and inscribed on the cover *Miscellaneous and Moral Collections*. He had the habit of putting together a number of sheets of plain paper folded into *octavo* or *duodecimo* size, of fifty or more pages each. In these he copied such passages of the author he was reading as struck him by their elegance or force of argument, subjects for sermons, college events, such as the death of a fellow student, the visits of distinguished personages to the college, and his own impressions of persons and things. One chapter of not more than a page and a half contains a very terse and full synopsis of the life of St. Francis de Sales. It is the only entry of the kind in any of these *cahiers*. Recalling the character of the Cardinal, one is forced to the conclusion that he set out in the opening of his ecclesiastical career with a fixed idea of taking the gentle Bishop of Geneva, the "restorer and master of sacred eloquence," as his model through life.

An idea of how he kept these notes can be seen in the following passage on *Meditation*, written probably before the Annual Retreat of that year, and dated October 1, 1827.

MEDITATION: FORM OF —

"Meditation consists of three parts: preparation, body, and conclusion. The preparation is divided into three parts: the remote, the proximate, and the immediate, preparation. The remote consists of three things (not necessary to mention the proximate consists of three things also): 1st., to foresee on the preceding night the subject of meditation, and in the morning, when dressing, the considerations to make, the resolutions to form on the duties to render to God; 2nd., to preserve strict silence from night prayers till morning meditation; 3rd., to be at meditation as soon as necessary; to go with humility. The immediate preparation consists of three things: 1, to place ourselves in the presence of God; 2, to be sensible of our unworthiness to appear before Him; 3, to be sensible of our incapacity to pay Him our homage and to pray to Him as we should. We place ourselves in the presence of God by two acts, viz., 1, an act of His presence in the place where we are and in our hearts; 2, of adoration of His infinite majesty. The body of the Meditation consists of three parts: adoration, communion, coöperation. The 1st. part consists in paying homage to God, Saint, or subject of the meditation by parts: adoration, admiration, praise, thanksgiving, love; joy or compassion. Adoration is made by a religious consideration of some perfection or attribute of the

subject meditation. Communion is made by asking of God the virtue or perfection on which we meditate. To effect this we must: 1, convince ourselves of its importance and necessity; 2, make reflections on ourselves in order to know well that we want it; 3, ask it pressingly. We must make use of conviction, in order that being convinced of its importance and of our want of it, we may ask it more fervently. To convince ourselves we must consider the motives and reasons which oblige us to have and practice the virtue or perfection on which we meditate. Conclusion consists of three things: 1, To thank God for having permitted us to appear in His presence; 2, to ask God's pardon for distractions and neglects committed in so holy an exercise, and His blessing on our resolutions for the present day; 3, to make the *bouquet spirituel.* This *bouquet spirituel* consists in taking one or two of the thoughts which have struck us in prayer, which in the sight of God we think most useful to us, and to repeat them frequently during the day. *Finis.*"

Here is another of the entries in the same note-book. It permits us to see into the hidden life, so to speak, of college boys ninety years ago:

"Gabriel Garesché died on the day after All Saints, Sunday, November 2d, All Souls' Day, 1828. He died about six o'clock in the morning of the billious, after a sickness of about ten days. He had been here but a couple of weeks. The first news received by the boys of his death was at Mass, All Souls' Day. He was not buried until the 4th. He was carried to the grave by six of the largest boys. Twelve Philadelphians im-

mediately followed. These and all the other boys had crape around the left arm, which they wore for some days. When the dirt was just about to be thrown on the coffin, his nurse sent by his grandfather, Mr. Duponceau, arrived with letters. She came for the purpose of nursing him during his last illness."

Then follow some reflections of the young seminarian on the solemn scene just witnessed:

"We could not see enrolled upon these walls the name of him who was to follow [a reference, it seems, to another recent death]. Death has assailed your youthful band and 'there is the trophy.' Answerable only for the years we have lived, not for the years we have not lived. How employed the time given; nothing to answer for the time which might have been given."

Then follows a detailed account of a visit to the college by Bishop England, dated September 22, 1829, the manner of his reception, his reply to the address of the students, and two very characteristic specimens of the eloquent Bishop's style of oratory from his sermon in the church. In the latter, the Bishop, addressing himself to the seminarians, inculcated very strongly the necessity of being well grounded in purity, piety, and humility. The entry closes with this sentence: "The Bishop was forty-three years of age on the 23rd September, 1829, and was then nine years a bishop." When John McCloskey was of the same age, precisely the same thing was true of himself.

Other notes of similar character are the following:

"Mr. James Butler died on the 11th of March, 1829 — about 25 minutes after 7 P.M.

"Rev. Mr. Egan died at Marseilles on the 28th May, 1829.

"Mr. Matthew Taylor died at Chambersburg on the 21st. of July, 1829.

"Mr. Louis Ogier died Dec. 1st 1833.

"Most edifying death— When fellow students and masters were assembled around his bed side just before the administration of the Holy Viaticum, he then spoke, without the previous suggestion of anyone — 'Companions, farewell! all you I love, farewell! I hope you all may go to heaven even if it should not please God that I should go there' — ('it does please God that you should go my child' — Rev. T. R. B.) 'There is one particularly whom I love — he knows whom I mean, I know who he is' — after some pause — 'Masters and Teachers farewell — I know how often I have offended you — Oh do forgive me — Oh Prefects! how often have I given you pain by my conduct — O, forgive me! To-morrow perhaps when I will be no more you will be thinking of the many times I' — 'No, my dear child' said Rev. T. R. B., 'they will only be thinking of you to pray the more for you — they are now praying for you —'"

NOTES

"Revd. James A. Lynch died at the Mountain on the 12th November, 1828 — he was buried on the 14th — he was born on the 9th April, 1802, uncertain whether born at sea or on land — at Conewago — the day on which he was buried was the first day on which we had snow, the Procession proceeded from the room formerly occupied by Mr. McGerry where he expired —

He died in bed — he was in the habit of sitting up the greater part of the time for the two last days as he could hardly breathe when lying in bed. His last words were 'I cannot stand it!' His funeral was grand — 1st. went M. Quarter, Thurifer — 2nd., Cross bearer, Jamison — Bradley and Kelly in cassocks and surplices, two acolytes — one on each side — then Ecclesiastics — then priests — then coffin, borne by Messrs Cavenagh, Curtin, Walt. Quarter and Carry, Gartland and Taylor — after coffin the band playing 'Children of the heavenly King' and 'Venite Adoremus' — then all the boys.

"High Mass was sung by Revd. Mr. Gerry, Mr. Purcell deacon and Mr. Marshall subdeacon — sermon by Mr. Purcell. 'He pleased God and was beloved by men' — sermon mostly Panegyric — He died while we were in Theology class — on Wednesday evening at about 1/2 after 5 o'clock."

The second of these note-books contains an account of the Retreat that year, which commenced on November 8, and ended on November 18, 1827. It would be interesting to quote the whole of this note-book, which consists of eight charming pages on the spiritual life. An *Instruction to Young Men* shows his method of grasping the sermons he has listened to:

"1. We are in a peculiar manner favoured by being called to the Ministry; and the piety of a common Christian would hardly be sufficient to save us.

"2. We are now in a place of probation, it is not our duty now to sanctify, or to teach others, but sanctify and teach ourselves.

"3. We think that many of the spiritual exercises which we attend unnecessary, and that to absent ourselves is possible — a mistaken idea — we are tepid in prayer and indevout and indifferent at these exercises — but they are all very essential; this, the time of probation now; must have a solid foundation — this the place to learn to exercise obedience, learn to practice a holy life.

"4. It is a remarkable fact that all those who neglect duties in noviciate, will almost inevitably relapse when they go into the world.

"5. It is not laudable to be desirous of leaving a Seminary to be Priests in the world.

"6. When in the world, cannot absent ourselves from these duties. We must have our time for rising, our time for meditation, time for recitation of Office, examine our cases of conscience, for the study of Scripture and Theology. None of these can be neglected — no time for visiting we belong not to the world; God called us from it — now the time to sanctify ourselves for, without it, cannot sanctify others. Worldy knowledge nothing without Science of Saints. Put our trust in B. Virgin.

"7. We must never expose our own souls to save others, — 'What will it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul'" —

The following *Reflections of my own* which follow this Instruction have a more personal touch:

Reflections of my own

"Make me sensible, O my God, of the infinite favour which Thou conferrest on me by calling me to Thy

Divine service. Grant, my dear Lord, that through the merits of Thy beloved Son I may not lose my Vocation. Resolutions: 1. I resolve in future to be more eager to serve God, to rise in the morning without reluctance, to attend meditation with exactness and recollection, to endeavour, with the grace of God, to attend all my spiritual exercises, to be particularly attentive during Mass, to avoid giving scandal by improper positions and to offer to God all my studies etc., and to submit with obedience to the rules of Superiors. 2. I resolve to consecrate myself in peculiar manner to B. Virgin, consequently attentive in beads, to beg Her assistance in everything to gain salvation. 3. With the assistance of God, I resolve to drive away tepidity and indifference, in fine to endeavour to do everything that may contribute to my sanctification here, persuaded that on it depends future perseverence and success.

"Look down, O holy Mother, on these my resolutions and beg of Thy Divine Son to grant me grace to put them in execution. Amen."

One cannot help suspecting that these well-thumbed note-books were never lost sight of, and that the resolutions and directions written down in the pleasant days of his studentship were guiding practices to him in his after life.

He began also in November, 1827, a note-book, which he entitled *Miscellanea Temporis*, containing many of his reflections, from November 1827 down to the end of April, 1829.

This note-book contains Collections of Beauties

and Anecdotes, among them paragraphs on Genius, Railways, Silver Mines, Poets, Art, Glass, Byron, and many extracts from Burke, who seems to have had quite an influence upon John McCloskey's mind. The note-book closes with an account of the fire at the end of April, 1829.

His first sermon, which is still preserved in the original, was delivered in the college chapel on December 21, 1827, on *Gratitude towards God.* It displays a grasp of English prose composition and of textual use of Holy Scripture far above the ability of the average young man of seventeen. One striking passage runs as follows:

"But, my Brethren, great and numerous as are the motives which we, in common with the rest of mankind, have to excite our gratitude, there is one which we as a distinct people ought never to forget and for the enjoyment of which we can never fully testify our grateful feelings, towards that Almighty Being from Whom we have received it: — I mean the enjoyment of civil and religious Liberty. It was that All-Wise Providence Who watches over the minutest actions of man, at Whose nod kings totter on their thrones, on Whose single word depend the destinies of nations and empires, Who nerved the arms of our heroes and gave success to their cause!"

At twenty years of age John McCloskey, having completed his second year of theological study, was made Prefect and placed over many young men older and in more advanced classes than himself. He had also at this time one of the Latin classes to teach in the

college. All this was a severe strain on a constitution which had never been robust; and, as he remarked long afterwards, "it made him old before his time." His extraordinary diligence as a student is evident from the reams of writing he has left as the work of these years, consisting of well-worked-out theological theses, essays on vexed questions of Church history, extracts from the Fathers of the Church, and well-dressed skeletons of sermons, one of the best of which is that delivered on November 11, 1828, *On the Love of God.*

One of these booklets is a note-book *On Literature* begun May 20, 1829, and ended August 29, 1829, containing what he calls *Miscellaneous Scraps.* The most pretentious of these little collections is that dated November 24, 1828, and is inscribed: *An Historical and Literary Account of the Formularies, Confessions of Faith and Symbolic Books of the Roman Catholic, Greek, and principal Protestant Churches,* — an analysis which he made of Charles Butler's well-known volume of that title. By this time, as this analysis shows, John McCloskey had reached a maturity far beyond his years. He displays a grasp of fundamental differences of belief which is surprising in a young theologian of eighteen, and the close reasoning he exhibits, proves equally well the splendid work done by his teachers at the Mountain. We have also the original copy of another of his sermons, that delivered in October, 1829, *On Human Respect.* There can be little doubt that we have in this sermon the keynote of his whole priestly life. The young theological student, who saw clearly enough into human

nature to write the following words, had certainly come into possession of himself:

"To please, to engage the affections of our fellow beings is one of the strongest propensities of our nature. It is when wisely and properly directed a happy one. To have implanted within our breasts by the hand of supreme Wisdom itself a spirit which prompts and urges us to render ourselves both pleasing and agreeable to our fellow-man, to avoid such actions and such expressions as would be calculated to excite displeasure and thereby estrange from us that good feeling and esteem which would otherwise be entertained in our regard, to have I say, such a spirit implanted within us must surely be deemed a happiness of no common value. It is this happy nature which contributes in so eminent a degree to the preservation and promotion of that peace and harmony which should at all times and in all places exist in society. But our best and happiest and most virtuous dispositions, will, when permitted to exceed those limits, which the laws of God and his divine Religion have prescribed for them, immediately be divested of their commending quality and degenerate into so many vices. For vice is nothing more than an excessive indulgence of our own natural propensities — A due regard for the opinions of men and well regulated desire to please, so far from being opposed to the maxims of the Gospel, are, on the contrary, both commendable and praiseworthy. But when the alternative once presents itself either of offending man or of offending God, of displeasing a friend on earth, or displeasing

our only affectionate and faithful friend in Heaven, when, I say such an alternative presents itself, hesitation would be criminal. Every nerve should be braced and every power both of mind and body exerted to its utmost, in order to bear up against the torrent of ridicule and abuse however headstrong and prove ourselves triumphantly superior to its fury and its violence — 'Who,' says the apostle, 'can hurt you if you be zealous of good,' 'If God is with us who is against us.'"

The year 1829 opened up with an extensive list of seminarians in which we find John McCloskey mentioned as "Amer. free" of the New York Diocese. The expression "free" probably meant that he had not been yet adopted by Bishop Dubois. It is hardly possible, considering the great need of priests in that diocese, that the former President of Mount St. Mary's had forgotten the frail, delicate boy he had met for the first time nearly ten years before, in New York.

A difficulty arises at this point. We have seen from one note-book the evidence of his presence in the college during the academic years 1827–29; and the list written by Father Bruté, dated October 22, 1829, together with his sermon on *Human Respect* dated October 1829, would prove his residence there for the academic year of 1829–30. It is difficult therefore to understand the statement in the *Story of the Mountain* (vol. I, p. 211), under date of 1829: "John (Cardinal) McCloskey returned to the Seminary this year having tried his vocation outside." It may be that this

reference from Dr. McCaffrey's notes has been misplaced in the chronology.

He taught Latin in the college during the academic year 1829–30, and it would appear that he had almost determined to ask for a release or an *exeat* from Bishop Dubois, in order to devote himself to teaching.

He did apply later to Bishop Dubois for an *exeat* but it was refused. A letter of Dr. Powers, then Vicar-General of the Diocese, to Father Jamison, President of the Mountain, settled the case in the absence of Bishop Dubois, who had set out for Rome on September 20, 1829:

NEW YORK, *January* 20, 1830

My dear friend:

I have been prevented from answering your letter by the perplexing nature of the request you have made. I have considered the case very scrupulously, and after serious deliberation I must tell you that I have come to the determination of refusing you the *exeat* for Mr. John McCloskey. If he were my subject properly speaking, indeed I would not refuse him to Mt. St. Mary's, but as I only hold the place of another, I feel myself bound to keep as near to his wishes and intentions as I possibly can. I know the Bishop would never ratify my permission, and under this conviction I feel that you will relinquish a demand which I am free to say is but just on your side. No man wishes Mt. St. Mary's better than I do, yet you will agree with me that I ought not to be too free of the property over which I am placed as Steward, when fully convinced that this grant would not meet the wishes of the Father of the Family. . . .

We have among his papers for this year, a second rendition of his sermon on *Human Respect*, dated February, 1830, at the end of which he writes the criticisms of his professors, that of Father Bruté being: "Defect in exordium, a particular danger alluded to, when the discourse intended to embrace a general one"; while Purcell, then Vice-President, calls his attention to a faulty definition — "Cannot properly say 'Vice nothing more than an excessive indulgence of our natural propensities.'"

His *Notes*, dated August 15–22, for the Retreat of 1830, which was conducted by Father Bruté, show the constantly increasing spiritual power he was acquiring. Latin texts from the Bible and from spiritual writers are interspersed throughout these notes and prove his unusual command of ascetical theology. The strongest pages he has written so far, are among these *Notes*. His reflections on two of his fellow-students, Murray and Kelly, who had been called to their reward during the year, display a tenderness which already foreshadows this predominant characteristic of his later life. He tells himself over and over again that the sanctity of the world depends upon the sanctity of the Priesthood; and on every page, his heart bursts out into fervent prayer for his own sanctity, purity, and spiritual courage to conquer himself for the sweet Christ's sake. From the arrangement of these *Notes*, together with the *feuilles volantes* placed within the pages, it seems to have been his custom to write down during the exercises themselves the thoughts and reflections which came to him, and then later to repro-

duce them in note-book form for his future guidance. During the summer vacation of 1831, the young student wrote a charming letter to the President, Rev. Father Jamison, on a subject as old as the hills, — that of interesting parents to send their sons to the Mountain:

New York, *Aug. 3rd*, 1831

Rev. and dear Sir:

The favor of Mr. McCaffrey which has accompanied your note was received early yesterday morning, — it was my intention to answer it last evening, but you will sigh over the loss of my seminarian regularity when I assure you that it was after 12 o'c. at night before I could extricate myself from a company of learned gentlemen who called here to enjoy the society of Mr. Ryan with whom I board. In fact, his house is constantly besieged by "Literati" — and I of course as being a friend of Mr. Ryan's and a gentleman from Emmitsburg, must submit to the rather irksome, but certainly most beneficial necessity of being introduced to them. Indeed it seems to me that if I could enjoy for the space of one year such society as I here mingle with, and listened to such learned conversations as I almost daily hear, I could derive from it more information, that is, more practical information, than from nearly two years' study. . . . You will, however, I hope, excuse me, when I assure you that I merely introduced the subject to let you know that I have opportunities of making our College known to many who enjoy high literary reputation and who, it may be, will one day prove useful acquaintances, and depend upon it, such opportunities

I do not fail to improve. . . . But to come at last to the point. It is your wish that I should exert myself in this city to procure students for our College, and to this end you have invested me with the necessary authority for acting as your responsible agent, which honor I duly acknowledge. I must, however, confess that I do not think that my exertions as an authorized agent are necessary, because Messrs. Purcell and Hitzelberger are expected daily and will no doubt be in town in the course of one or two days, and everything which regards contracts and money matters can be attended to by them; as for myself, my time is so much occupied with my family and friends that I have very little leisure to attend to anything else. You may, however, rest assured that whatever I can do will be done cheerfully. In the circle of my own acquaintances I have interested myself in the behalf of the College as much as I could. I have succeeded in getting one scholar, which is better than nothing. He is the son of a gentleman who is now a merchant of New Orleans with whom I am well acquainted and who is at present on a visit to his family on Long Island. He is a good Catholic and I will vouch for his punctuality and readiness to pay his bills. He will send his son for perhaps five or six years and such a one is worth having — his name is James Mullen, a namesake of the Rev. gentleman who finished in 1824. . . .

I have visited several other parents and endeavored to persuade them to send their sons to our College — but their objections are so many it is very difficult to meet with success. The sole chance we have is among those who are anxious to have their

children reared good Catholics. I visited yesterday a lady who is very eager to send one of her sons. I did not see her husband, but will see him tomorrow, as I am invited to spend the evening with him — Perhaps he can be persuaded, — but it will be difficult, as he is a lawyer in good practice and too high-minded to send a son to a "place so little known." There are five or six other families where there is a chance and I will try it. But I can neither promise myself nor you success. Rev. Mr. Purcell has gone to Canada as you know. He received a letter from Mr. Laroque requesting him to visit Montreal as there were two or three other boys besides his own who would likely be sent to the Mountain. Mr. H. is with him — Mr. Hitzelberger preached in this city and gave universal satisfaction — indeed all were delighted with him. . . .

If I should be so fortunate as to secure any more students I will leave the settlement of money matters, etc., to Mr. Purcell — whom of course I will introduce to the parents. . . . As for myself you will see me at the Mountain next Wednesday — and if I have not time to call on all I would wish, I will leave their address with Mr. Purcell who can effect a great deal more than I can. I will take the trouble to collect the names, address, means of introduction, etc., etc., of all with whom there are any prospects of success, and these I will give to Mr. P. to act by. I have already said that it is utterly impossible for me to devote much time to it. I am determined to force myself out of the city next Monday. Excuse haste.

Yours with respect,

J. McCloskey

That year (1831–32) John McCloskey, besides his duties as teacher, was chosen to be one of the four Prefects of discipline.

The exact dates of his reception of tonsure, minor orders and major orders are somewhat uncertain. It is now a matter of history that Archbishop Whitfield was not favorably disposed towards the theological school at the Mountain. Every Baltimore student, in fact, was obliged to spend two years of theology at the seminary in Baltimore, no matter how long he had been at Emmitsburg. Archbishop Whitfield wished to centre all the theological studies of his Diocese at Baltimore, and would never, therefore, go to Emmitsburg to ordain the students. Students of other dioceses had to be ordained by other Bishops. Hence it was that John McCloskey was obliged to cross the State line into the Diocese of Philadelphia, of which Bishop Kenrick was then Ordinary. Bishop Kenrick would not go to Emmitsburg knowing the antipathy which existed against it. In one of Archbishop Purcell's letters, written when he was President of the Mountain, and dated Baltimore, July 7, 1831, we read the facetious statement that: "Messrs. Butler and McCloskey got through their dreaded functions of deacon and subdeacon at the Cathedral last Sunday most gloriously. Their voices sounded stentorian notes under the great dome." The tradition of the Mountain is that he received all his orders, except Priesthood, from Bishop Kenrick. In Bishop Kenrick's *Diary and Visitation Records* (1830–51), the only mention of John McCloskey is that under date of December 3, 1832: "I gave . . . Tonsure, Minor Orders and Subdeaconship to John

McCloskey . . . in the Church of St. Francis Xavier, Gettysburg." Where he received deaconship is not known, but most probably at New York, for as will be seen he was not a deacon in December, 1833, on the eve of his recall to New York by Bishop Dubois. Some time before this, he must have made another attempt to be released from his diocese, in order to devote himself to teaching, since we read in one of Archbishop Whitfield's letters, dated May 10, 1832: "I also learned with satisfaction that Mr. John McCloskey, who has received his *exeat* from the Diocese of New York, has expressed his wish with the above mentioned, in promoting the good of religion and the prosperity of a College in which we feel highly interested." It may be in reference to this that President Purcell writes on July 12, 1832: "McCloskey is a heart of mountain oak. God bless the Mountain! What fine fellows it produces!" He had completed all his studies preparatory to the Priesthood at this time, but owing to the lack of canonical age, was obliged to wait almost two years. These years he spent at the Mountain, studying and teaching.

Among the Cardinal's note-books there is one on *Celibacy* — the synopsis of some instructions given to the theologians by Father Bruté, in September, 1832. The little book consists of sixteen headings or arguments in favor of Celibacy, with reference at the end, to certain readings: St. Paul and St. Ambrose in particular. The next paper is a series of resolutions after the spiritual Retreat of October, 1832. There is, strangely enough, no mention of the Breviary. Resolutions are here written down for the consecration of the

entire day to God, for classes, studies, recreations, etc., but no word about the Divine Office. These resolutions are personal and show the deep sincerity of the man, then on the threshold of the Priesthood:

Resolutions

"I resolve to arise as soon as awakened — my first thoughts shall be God — my first words: Jesus and Mary, and my first action the sign of Salvation.

"I will not indulge my sloth but endeavor to excite myself by the consideration of Jesus naked and scourged at a pillar, bleeding in the garden of agony, or nailed to the cross — I shall regard the *Benedicamus Domino*, as the voice of God, calling me to enter upon another day in His divine service — I will answer *Deo gratias* with a sense of gratitude for the favor. I will then beg for the spirit to serve Him well, remembering the words of Scripture: *Maledictus qui facit opus Dei negligenter.* I will dress with alacrity and beg for chastity and humility. When washing I will beg for cleanness of heart and will say the *Asperges.* I will hasten to the room of Meditation, and occupy my mind with thinking on the subject read the foregoing evening. When exercises begin, I will assume as respectful a posture as possible, never permitting myself to lean on anything. I will endeavor to follow with attention and devotion the morning prayers whilst the person presiding reads them. Before Meditation, I will say the prescribed Acts. I will say the *Confiteor* with the sense that I am not worthy, and the *Veni Sancte* with the sense that I am not able. At the end I will beg pardon for all the distractions I

have been guilty of. I will then proceed to Mass, saying on the road the *Veni Creator*. I will enter Church with recollection and respect, remembering that I am about to assist at the most important action of the day. I will always follow the Priest, and never leave Church without earnestly begging for the virtues necessary for a good Priest, and pray that I may rather die than ever be guilty of sacrilege.

"*Studies*. I will always begin my studies by recommending them to God and invoking the light of the Holy Ghost. I will always endeavor to prepare well for my classes — not to occupy my time in light reading, but in ecclesiastical study — I shall always study with the sole end of being able to promote thereby the salvation of souls and God's greater glory.

"*Meals*. I will be attentive to grace before and after meals. Will be indifferent to what is set before me, never shew displeasure, and never eat for mere pleasure.

"*Recreations*. Shall always endeavor to be cheerful and agreeable, I will never begin a conversation without raising my thoughts to God, and begging that I may not sin against charity — that I may not violate the truth or become too warm or angry — I will be particularly careful not to speak of myself — will always be attentive to the bells, so as to be at my proper place at the proper time. — On Thursdays I will devote a part of the day to some useful Reading or Study —

"*On Sundays*, I will always read some portion of Scripture, at least one chapter.

"*Classes*. I will endeavor to take great interest in the progress of those under my care and use all patient exertion to improve their minds and hearts. —

"I shall always endeavor to give good example both to Seminarians and Students — not give way to improper levity — not to appear proud or conceited — not to be too nice or too negligent in dress and never to use a glass without necessity — I shall be as punctual as possible in my Visits to the B. Sacrament, and always pray to be a good Priest, not forgetting Mary. Will never be wilfully absent from Beads, and in saying them be particular to pray for humility, chastity, temperance, zeal and the souls in Purgatory. I will go to Confession every week — too happy to receive Holy Communion as often — this as my confessor advises.

"My Rule shall be my penance."

Juravi et statui custodire mandata Dei mei.

A sermon on *Delay of Conversion*, given in February, 1833, follows these *Resolutions*. Among the papers preserved up to the present time, is one dated June 15, 1833, six months before his ordination to the priesthood. It is inscribed *Analysis of Letters addressed by Rev. S. Bruté to a Young Man about to be Ordained.* It contains thirteen closely written pages of as practical wisdom and incentive to piety as could well be gathered into so small a space. The following are the heads of the subjects discussed and a brief summary of the substance: "What is a Catholic priest? *Sacerdos alter Christus.* A pontiff that offers a divine sacrifice to God and imparts its graces to men — *Dispensator mysteriorum Dei.*

"This is the priest, for this he preaches, for this he confesses, that the sacrifice of the Holocaust of pro-

pitiation may be known and offered, and improved upon earth to the greatest glory of God and the salvation of souls, according to its divine institution and first consummation by Jesus Christ, Whom he now represents, with Whom he makes himself one person, as it were, at the heavenly altar. This is the priest."

Then follows a succinct relation of the consequences of this belief as they should appear in the daily life of the priest.

"A perfect and perpetual sense of unworthiness, an eternal horror of sin, of the smallest deliberate sins, prayerfulness through life, watchfulness, a delicacy and purity of conscience which the early meditation of every day, etc., can alone keep up; a scrupulous care in celebrating the Holy Sacrifice as perfectly as possible; a great zeal to have the faithful well instructed in the nature of the divine sacrifice; a vivid sense of sorrow for the profanations of unworthy communicants, heretics, bad priests.

"The office of teaching. 1. Often cherish in meditation the most exalted and heavenly motives of our commission. *Pro Christo ergo legatione fungimur tanquam Deo exhortante per nos.*

"2. Think of pleasing God above all — *Est qui judicet;* of pleasing men only for God's sake. *Mihi autem pro minimo est ut a vobis judicer.*

"3. Yet for God's sake pleasing all as much as we can; too much reverence for souls, too eager to be useful to them to neglect anything.

"4. Most attentive to cultivate sound doctrine: study best principles both for dogma amd morals.

Never lose sight of our most approved authors. Doctrine is a trust of the most sacred kind for Catholics. *Depositum custodi.*

"5. Attention to composition, order, style, manner of delivery, particularly during first years, that proper habits may be acquired for life.

"6. Make best use of all the time that can be had with this intention. Woe to a too yielding temper to every call of worldlings or good people who are ignorant of the true priestly engagements.

"Be resolute to save time with more jealousy than the statesman or judge in session. *Nescitis quia in his quae Patris mei sunt oportet me esse.*

"7. Study best models, either living or recorded in print. Be not seduced from the holy, solid, and most profitable views of preaching and instructing — not seeking applause."

Then follows an instruction on *Zeal:* how to combat obstacles in the way of sacerdotal zeal. Zeal is the soul of the sacred ministry, but must be persevered in by Prayer, which is next dealt with from the point of view of its necessity, especially for a priest. The closing chapter is on *Temper. Imitatores mei estote, sicut et ego Christi.* "Bear all contradiction and opposition from sinners."

That these letters were addressed to John McCloskey can hardly be doubted; they embody his character and they must have sunk deeply into the soul of the young Levite, for if any one who knew him were asked to name the priest in whom these ideals were realized most fully, he would at once name Cardinal

McCloskey as he was to the close of his life. His notes for the Retreat, held in August 1833 — the last he made as a student at the Mountain, are all concerned about God's love for man. "Let us have recourse," he writes, "to our Father and Comforter. We shall find rest to our souls. He invites us, let us be docile and obey." The particular grace he prayed for in this Retreat was love and knowledge of Truth. "God is Truth, and God alone can fill the immensity of the human heart. All else, — nations, empires, angels, saints, the purest and tenderest affections, — all sink into the abyss of its immensity, and yet something still is found wanting to fill the void!"

The last of these precious pages still extant among the Cardinal's private papers is that dated December 11, 1833, and entitled *Simple Advices from An Old Friend.* No doubt, Father Bruté is the friend in question. It will be seen that the question of his going to the proposed College at Nyack had already been agreed upon.

Mt. St. Mary's, *Dec.* 11*th*, 1833

Simple Advices from an Old Friend

"1. Adore and embrace the will of God, your whole soul.

"2. Conceive the greatest esteem of its special offer.

"3. Put all your confidence in your Lord, all love!

"4. Think only of doing faithfully your best as Duty, no self, no desire of personal consolations.

"5. Place entirely yourself in the hands of God under His man for you on earth, your Bishop.

"6. Try to understand with your Bishop your dis-

tinct line of conduct so that he may best direct it and rest confident enough in the man of God's choice.

"7. After a while a Superior and president of a College Seminary knows and sees more in his special department than the Bishop.

"8. To return to the primary principles with piety your main purpose — *pietas ad omnia utilis est* — true prayer *petite et accipite*.

"9. Once the priest, let your altar be all in all.

"10. Piety alone can obtain and form a pious clergy.

"11. Nay solid piety alone can form a truly learned clergy as clergy — Else want of self denial.

"12. Be a disciplinarian of principle, affection and example — love discipline — even if not observed enough, and you still keep to it, save what you can; it will reclaim and maintain.

"13. Have most regular hours — Early morning. But rather not too early — Early rest at night, indispensable.

"14. Order and punctuality more than double time, whilst no time suffices if dissipated.

"15. Once at Nyack, keep to Nyack, no New York for you, no extra ministry.

"16. *Cella custodita dulcescit;* it will prove your happiness with God — and for ever so little you may seem to do at first — It is the way, the only way to see it enlarging. So M. Dubois did here, for years hardly ever absent.

"17. As you have your family in New York, I would as a faithful friend summon all your courage to keep yourself as independent as possible of them, not accepting family care and interest, nor calling them to

attend on the college or seminary — I repeat only the unanimous rule of every book of ecclesiastical rule, and it is often our Lord's example and most decisive words about it.

"18. As for own circumspection and humble observance of the best rules, also of every good book concerning the care of your own domestic life, take from the beginning strict habits, although silently and without affectation — be certain that it adds considerably to the safety and good odour in Christ of your sacerdotal life — and that example you owe at the seminary to the young clergy destined to go from it to Calvary as both the light and the salt of this earth.

"19. Before all, as you have yet to be ordained Deacon, then Priest, attend faithfully and fervently to your own great necessity of best preparation for both — ask your rule for it from your worthy Bishop as soon as arrived.

"20. If to be soon ordained, retire, do retire from the world — either in his house or at Nyack — be sure that in the result all will approve you for refusing the rounds of invitations at so sacred and decisive a time — you need to be entirely by yourself, as if at the seminary.

"21. If at the Bishop's — ask him the favor of his moment of advice every day — also ask for some points of theology and what may concern marriage— jurisdiction, etc.

"22. Let prayers, my friend, be prayers indeed, so that you may all your life remember before God how you did offer yourself and call for his grace — make at such a time your communion with the Saints

as if in their presence in heaven in sight of the seat reserved there for you, and pray now fervently to secure it — particularly I say: 1. Blessed Virgin. 2. Holy Angels. 3. The Apostles and Holy Doctors.

"23. Read some selected part of these last, e.g. of St. Jerome *Epistles*, St. Augustine, select chapters of the *Confessions*, but particularly of St. Chrysost. *de Sacerdotio*. . . .

"24. Beware always but particularly, when you arrive, of the busy accounts and general canvass and review of characters — affect no curiosity — but rather reserve about it.

"25. Yourself put on from the beginning all the discretion of a charitable and prudent Christian — double of it as priest.

"26. Fix early on some useful labors of your pen, but first for your official service — say: select translation from Massillon *Conferences et Discours Synodaux* or some of Berthier's *Meditations* abridged, or some digesting of liturgical notes as may be suggested to you by those which you copied — be diligent as a bee in its hive — your own soul will from year to year feel so much the more benefited — saving and perfecting it first will be the most useful to others.

"27. Study and practice perfectly the ceremonies of Mass, in order to begin well — then be most exact in observing them — all interior and exterior application to the Sacrifice.

"28. Mind in all your conduct the utmost simplicity and purity of intention, the soul of your life and your eternity.

"29. Love the poor and all sufferers. . . .

"30. The Missal — Breviary — New Testament — and A Kempis. . . ."

These *Simple Advices*, so like Bruté in tone and in expression, were probably given to John McCloskey on the eve of his departure for New York whither he had been called by Bishop Dubois, in order to prepare himself for ordination to the Priesthood. That auspicious event occurred on January 12, 1834, in old St. Patrick's in Mulberry Street.

The Cardinal in his recollections often spoke of the day of his ordination. It was a very stormy day, and there were no priests in the sanctuary and not many people in church. Two priests, the Vicar-General, Dr. Powers, and Dr. Constantine Pise, who had promised to come, were kept away by the inclement weather. At the time of his ordination few thought that he would live long. Always frail in health, the accident of 1827 had left its trace, and no one suspected at the time that the young priest would live beyond the Scriptural three score years and ten.

CHAPTER III

STUDENT DAYS IN EUROPE (1834–1837)

First experiences in the Ministry. Seminary at Nyack. Appointed Vice-President and Professor of Philosophy. Burning of the Seminary. Cornelius Heeney's Offer. Father McCloskey sets out for Rome. Incidents of the Voyage. Making Friends in the Eternal City. Death of His Sister. Attends Lectures at Roman College. Death of Father Anthony Kohlmann, S.J. Friendship with Lacordaire. The Return to New York.

FATHER JOHN McCLOSKEY began his priestly life at the old Cathedral in Mulberry Street, and together with regular parochial work, was given the duty of attending Bellevue Hospital and the Eleventh Street Cemetery. The hospital had to be visited twice a week and whenever sick-calls came in. The walk to and from the hospital was a long one. Bishop Dubois had, however, destined him for other duties. He had begun the building of a college, to which he proposed to add a seminary, at Nyack-on-the-Hudson, on May 29, 1833. From the beginning of his episcopate, as we read in Bishop Gabriels' *Historical Sketch of the Provincial Seminary of Troy, N. Y.*, the former president of Mount St. Mary's was convinced that clerics trained at home, familiar with the needs of the Church in this country and of their own spiritual children, would do far more effective

work than could be expected from strangers who had hitherto filled up the ranks of the American Priesthood. During his visit to Rome in September 1829, he brought the necessity of a seminary for his Diocese to the attention of Propaganda, and the Holy See furnished him with means to begin the building of the college. On his return journey, he made collections in various parts of Europe for the same purpose, and although the total sum of the money on hand was small, he felt that no time should be lost in beginning the work. On March 16, 1830, Bishop Dubois wrote a lengthy letter to the Association of Lyons, giving in detail the story of the Catholic Church in New York, and telling the Secretary of the Association of his plans for the college:

"All these are matters of direful importance; yet before all I must establish an apostolic nursery, and it is by no means easy to acquire a seminary in New York, where land costs $10,000 or $12,000 an acre. My idea is to unite a college with the seminary, as I did so happily in the Baltimore diocese, so as to defray the expenses of the seminary out of the income of the college. I shall have very little difficulty in starting this establishment, and when begun it will be self-sustaining. Apart from the benefit to the Church, what immense advantages will the college not present in the way of Catholic education in a country where there is no alternative for the education of the young but to send them to England with its many temptations, or to place them in colleges where the lack of discipline is the smallest drawback."

Ten years before this time, February 25, 1818, Bishop Connolly, his predecessor, had written to Cardinal Litta, then Prefect of Propaganda, saying that the burden of debt on the diocese was so large that he could not think of erecting a seminary. During Bishop Dubois' early years in the episcopate, an arrangement had been entered into between himself and the authorities of Mount St. Mary's, whereby the Mountain became the diocesan seminary for New York for the term of five years:

"The following agreement entered by and between the Right Revd. John Dubois, Bishop-elect of New York on the one part, and the Revd. Mich'l De Burgo Egan and the Revd. John F. McGerry on the other, witnesseth:

"That the Right Revd. John Dubois, Bishop-elect of New York, wishing to promote the interests of the Seminary of Mount St. Mary's of which he has been for many years the superior, and to aid the Revd. Mich'l De Burgo Egan and the Revd. John F. McGerry his successors in that establishment, in discharging the debts with which it is embarrassed, hereby engages himself:

"1. To consider the Seminary of Mount St. Mary's near Emmitsburg as his Diocesan Seminary for the term of five years.

"2. That he will not erect any seminary or college in the Diocese of New York during the space of five years, as it would evidently prove detrimental to the interests of Mount St. Mary's.

"3. That he will not remove any of his subjects from

the Seminary of Mount St. Mary's, whether they have finished their theological studies or not, without the consent of the said Revd. Messrs. Egan and McGerry, when they remonstrate to him that the subject is not ready or fit to be ordained, or that such removal would prove too great an inconvenience to the Seminary.

"4. That he will ordain no subject of his Diocese, who will have made his studies in this seminary, without testimonials from the directors of the seminary that such a subject is worthy by his moral conduct, piety and ecclesiastical instruction, to be promoted to Holy Orders.

"5. That when he establishes a seminary or college in the Diocese of New York, he will receive no young man from the Seminary of Mount St. Mary's without the approbation and recommendation of the President or Directors of said Seminary of Mount St. Mary's."

With the money granted him by the Propaganda, Bishop Dubois bought a farm of one hundred and sixty-five acres of excellent land on the Hudson, some thirty miles above New York. The farm was directly on the river, and steamboats could land at any dock built there. The location was considered a very desirable one. The cost of the farm was twelve thousand dollars, and four thousand dollars were paid down, the rest subject to mortgage. A house eighty feet square was begun for the seminary, the whole edifice to cost thirty thousand dollars. This caused delay in the building, and it would seem that the Catholics of the diocese were not generous in their response to the bishop's appeal for the completion of the building.

The diocese at this time contained almost one hundred and fifty thousand Catholics, twenty-five thousand of whom were in New York City. There were nine churches in the diocese and twenty-four priests. The trustee difficulty which had broken out under his predecessor, Bishop Connolly, was then at its worst stage in the diocese. The trustees had virtually gained control of all church property which they retained down to 1838, when Archbishop Hughes, then Coadjutor to Bishop Dubois, took a firm stand and suppressed the evil. The trustees were averse to building the seminary, but the work progressed in spite of them under Bishop Dubois' guidance. He had had exceptional experience in founding the college and seminary of Emmitsburg, and the building advanced far enough to have the cornerstone of the college of Nyack laid on May 29, 1833. Father John McGerry, who had been president at Emmitsburg, was called to Nyack to fill the same position in the new college. Others besides the trustees were opposed to the location of the college. Among them was the Vicar-General, Dr. Power, whose letters to Dr. Cullen, Rector of the Irish College in Rome, are somewhat bitter on the project. In February 1834, Father John McCloskey was sent to Nyack as vice-president and professor of philosophy.

"It was a bitterly cold day in February," said the Cardinal, in recalling forty years later his first journey to Nyack, "when I drove up to that poor building in an open wagon from Hoboken, the only way of getting to it then. There were no Catholics in the neighborhood, and the old Dutch settlers in the vicinity, as

we afterwards learned, not only shunned us by day, but feared to quit their homes after dark, lest something dreadful should come upon them at the hands of the Catholic priests now so nigh, even at their very doors. But they soon came to be very friendly and did us many kind offices."

There still exists among the Cardinal's papers the notes of his first lecture, given at Nyack in that same month. "The study on which you now enter," he told his class, "is one of a far higher nature than any which you have hitherto pursued. No longer the learning of idioms, or languages, the flowers of rhetoric, the beauties of imagination, the brilliant flashes of genius, as charming as in the harmonious strains of poetry, or convincing, persuading and delighting as in the fervid glow of oratory; but it is the study of ourselves, the study also of Him who gave us existence, endowed us with reason and intelligence. Not that other studies are unimportant. No, they are the avenues, pleasant at times, at others rugged, which conduct you to the groves of philosophy." Among his students during the short time he was at Nyack was John Loughlin, first Bishop of Brooklyn.

During this winter the cholera broke out in New York City, and Father McCloskey wrote to Dr. Power, the Vicar-General (the Bishop was absent in Rome), for permission to return to New York to devote himself to the care of the plague-stricken people. The Vicar-General wrote him in reply: "Providence has placed you out of the reach of danger, for the present at least, and you will remain there."

In August 1834, the chapel of the college was dedicated, and Father McCloskey preached the sermon on the occasion. The following account copied from the New York *Weekly Register and Catholic Diary* of August 23, 1834, may be of interest in the light of subsequent events:

"On Sunday, August 10, the beautiful little chapel which has just been completed on the college grounds was opened for divine worship. In the absence of the bishop, permission was kindly given for that purpose by the Very Rev. Dr. Power, Vicar-General of the diocese. High Mass was sung in an impressive manner by the Rev. Father Schneller of New York, who happened to be on a visit to the college, assisted by Rev. Mr. McGerry, the president. The sermon was preached by Rev. John McCloskey of the college. Of this production no words of ours are adequate to convey a correct impression. It must have been heard to be properly appreciated. High as our opinion of the talents and acquirements of the young clergyman was, we did not conceive that he would at once take a conspicuous rank among the best preachers and classical writers in our country. Such, however, is the fact; whether we consider the chastened purity of the style, the graceful elegance of the diction, the great thoughts interspersed, or the faultless elocution and manner of delivery."

The health of the young priest who had entered on his ministry so auspiciously was far from being strong. More than one member of his family had died in their prime, and it began to be feared by his friends that a

life so precious and so full of promise of great things for God might be extinguished in its very springtime, if something were not done to avert it. Accordingly Mr. Cornelius Heeney, the life-long friend of the family, called on the bishop and in his paternal way said to him: "You are killing that boy up there in Nyack. He is too delicate for the climate and the duties of the place. Why not let him go to Europe to recruit his health? It will cost the diocese nothing; his mother will bear all the expenses." This conversation led the Bishop to speak to Father McCloskey on the subject, who said it was quite in accord with his own wishes, adding that while in Europe, besides building up his strength, he hoped also to utilize the time in study, and thus prepare himself better for whatever the bishop had in view for him.

Not long after the opening of the chapel, the seminary was destroyed by a fire, said at the time to have been started by religious fanatics. The building was a total loss, and was not covered by insurance. "It was indeed a catastrophe," writes Bishop Gabriels, "for where was the poverty-stricken bishop to find another twenty thousand dollars with which to make a second attempt." It was a hopeless situation. There had not been much enthusiasm for the new seminary from the beginning, and it may not be unfair to judge the tenor of the clergy towards it from the caustic letters Dr. Power, who was Vicar-General and therefore second in command, was writing to his friend Cardinal Cullen, then Rector of the Irish College, Rome. But Providence was not unmindful of the bishop's efforts. Mr. Cornelius Heeney,

who had been John McCloskey's guardian after his father's death in 1820, offered the bishop a site for a college and seminary in Brooklyn, and the bishop at once accepted it. The plan, however, came to naught.

Father McCloskey now appealed to the bishop to be allowed to go to Rome. All thought of rebuilding at Nyack had been given up, and there were meagre prospects of starting another seminary. Bishop Dubois at first refused his consent. The young priest could not understand this, and urged the matter: "Bishop Kenrick of Philadelphia has studied in Rome; if you will allow me to act on his advice, I shall go to Philadelphia and consult him." It was rumored also about this time that he had made application to be released from the diocese, in order to join the Society of Jesus, but that Bishop Dubois had dissuaded him. The bishop could ask nothing more reasonable and said: "Very well, my child, you can go. Your health needs a change, and I shall be glad to approve of anything that would benefit it."

Father McCloskey went to Philadelphia and called upon Bishop Kenrick. "How long are you going to stay in Rome?" asked the bishop. "At least two years and I should be better pleased with three," said the young priest. "Well, then," said the bishop, "go to Rome if you will stay so long as that. But if you were only going to stay six months, I should say, don't go." This, the young priest, as he confessed later, could not understand at the time, but he understood it afterwards. For he was fully six months in the Eternal City before he could divest himself of the

influence of the atmosphere of puritanism which was the prevailing form of piety, outside the Church in these parts, eighty years ago.

A letter from Bishop Dubois to Dr. Butler, President of Mount St. Mary's, dated New York, October 7, 1834, gives us an idea of the bishop's attitude towards the young priest:

I suppose, my dear Mr. Butler, that before this time you have received an answer from Mr. McCloskey, ordained February 7 (*sic*), this year, informing you that he had made up his mind and applied to me for leave to go to Rome to complete his studies. I am far from approving his resolution, which is liable to more objections than he is aware of, and I earnestly urged him to go in preference to St. Mary's, but having promised him not to control him in his desire to improve himself, I could not oppose a resolution which he considers as the most suitable for his purposes. —I was the less inclined to contradict him, as his weak constitution is not likely to render him very useful, and may be improved by spending some time in Italy. He appears more inclined to a sedentary, studious, than to an active life, and I am afraid that he may thereby give the last stroke to his already broken constitution. . . .

Your devoted father in Xt.,
✠ John, Bp. of N. Y.

Bishop Dubois no longer opposed his going to Europe after hearing from Dr. Kenrick, and accordingly we find him taking ship for France, November 3, 1834. At the steamer, his friends who had gathered

to bid him *bon voyage*, gave him what they thought was a final farewell; all thought from his looks that he had consumption and would never return alive. It was not an enthusiastic farewell. The Cardinal, however, had no serious fears for himself; but, as he confessed in later years, he never expected to live much beyond forty.

His *Journal of Travels*, in which he kept note of all the striking events of his voyage opens thus: "The day appointed for leaving New York was Saturday, November 1, 1834 — Feast of All Saints. In consequence of the election, sailing deferred until Monday, November 3d. Accompanied in the steamboat to the packet (packet-ship *Erie*, Captain Funck) by Rev. Mr. McGerry, Mr. Michael, and Edward Mullen. Parted with Rev. Dr. Power, Mr. Gottsberger, and Mr. A. Mullen, at the wharf. Bade my last farewell about one o'clock. But the heartrending parting was over. Never will I forget my feelings when bidding adieu to my dear mother and sisters in Philadelphia. . . ." After the first few days he adds:

"Each day I acquired fresh strength and vigor. Became pretty well acquainted with my fellow passengers; find them all very intelligent and agreeable. None, with the exception of Dr. W.—— suffered as much from seasickness as myself. Our company was as follows: Dr. W.—— of New York; Dr. C.—— of Spain, originally a surgeon in the Spanish navy, an old pupil of Dr. Varela, afterwards travelled to China and through a great part of the East; went to Calcutta, where he became an attendant physician in the

hospital; accumulated a large fortune; is now on his way to Paris, where his wife is before him — a very interesting man, a Catholic. Dr. S.—— of Boston, a man of money and a sportsman. Mr. S.—— son of the French minister, an amiable, sensible, and well educated young gentleman. Mr. C.—— an attaché of the French embassy, a young gentlemen of brilliant mind and fine accomplishments. Mr. R.—— a French *negociant*, a would-be materialist, but in reality a French Catholic. Mr. L.—— from Martinique, a pretended deist, but not possessing sufficient sense to know any system well. These, including myself, form the entire number. No ladies — a great advantage in one respect, but a disadvantage in another. Much improper conversation would be suppressed by the restraints imposed in their presence."

It was thus Rev. John McCloskey quitted the shores of his native land for the first time, influenced no doubt, in a greater or less degree, by what his friends feared sorely, that he might never return. Little did the young priest then dream, and far less did he ambition it, that one day, after four and forty busy years, his last voyage over this same ocean would be as a prince of the Church, hastening to the conclave to elect one of the greatest popes that ever ruled the Church of God — Leo XIII.

The voyage to Havre, begun November 3, 1834, was made in thirty days, and was devoid of all but the ordinary incidents of sea travelling. The trend of Father McCloskey's literary taste at this period may be gathered from the mention made in his *Journal* of

the works he chose for reading-matter during the long voyage. Naturally books of travel, and whatever would aid him in perfecting his knowledge of French, which, even then, he spoke fairly well, held a prominent place in his studies. He writes under date of Wednesday, November 26, "Have succeeded, however" [i.e., notwithstanding frequent attacks of illness], "in passing my time thus far agreeably and profitably. Read Mrs. Trollope's *Travels through Belgium and Lower Germany;* some of Corneille's best tragedies; part of Moore's *Life of Byron;* a speech of Verplanck; the *Life of Mary, Queen of Scots, etc.* On Sunday, I read Massillon, and *Meditations of St. Augustine.*"

The party on shipboard, composed as it was of men of education and culture, needed not to pass the long hours in unprofitable crooning, nor did they. "Many interesting incidents," the *Journal* says, "occurred during the voyage, which I did not take the trouble to note. Great music was taken out of Mr. R.—— by Ca—— and Ch——. Arguments on classical studies well defended by Ch——. Debate on Materialism. Sermon by Dr. W.—— against wine drinking, card playing, or reading anything but the Bible on Sundays."

Father McCloskey's first experience of the sea in a storm struck the chord of admiration, and drew forth the latent sympathy with the sublime which makes all men kin. The following is a fair sample of his descriptive power:

"Unwelcome as storms and gales were always to us, they were not without their interest, particularly

to me, who was crossing the ocean for the first time. There is something in a storm at sea fearfully sublime and beautiful. To behold the mighty billows, rising in constant succession to an almost mountainous height above us, break in angry foam and subside harmlessly at our vessel's side, is certainly a spectacle that has its charm as well as its terrors. When viewed at night the spectacle is truly sublime; the contrast between the white crest and the dark and angry waves themselves, which form an horizon immediately around us, is in every way more grand. It is at such a moment that man feels a strong consciousness of his littleness, strangely commingled with a feeling of his superiority and greatness. A plank is all that is between him and eternity; he can count a thousand contingencies in the event of any one of which he would be instantly buried in the vast abyss of waters. And yet, on the other hand, he contemplates himself thus launched upon a boundless expanse, braving, with a security almost undisturbed, the rage and fury of the elements, undaunted by the howlings of the tempest or the heavings of the troubled ocean, and feels that he is truly the lord of creation, raised by a kind and merciful Creator above all His works."

The last entry in the *Journal* bearing upon his voyage is a vivid description of a stirring experience during the run up the Channel, shortly before reaching Havre.

"We spent some hours of most intense anxiety the first night we were in the Channel; they were indeed the most alarming moments of the whole voyage.

We had all been seated around the table, some reading, others amusing themselves with cards, when our attention was drawn by unusual sounds on deck. The wind was roaring through the cordage; the captain's hurried and oft-repeated commands, the hurrying to and fro of the sailors, all gave us reason to suspect that everything was not right. On inquiry we were told that there was a light ahead. We ascended in order to see if we could discern it, little dreaming that such a thing could be an object of serious alarm. The night was very dark, and we were running before the wind at the rate of thirteen or fourteen knots an hour. I soon learned the chances of vessels encountering one another, and the certain ruin that would ensue in the event of such encounters. While we were making every endeavor not to near the light ahead, the mate, who was stationed at the prow, suddenly announced another on our left; in less than half a minute another was discovered on our right, and almost at the same instant, I beheld another ahead, which, it seemed, our vessel would strike at its very next plunge. The captain, as well may be imagined, was in much anxiety; but the firm tones in which he gave his orders: 'Port! Hard a port! Keep her to! etc.', showed that he had braved many a similar and greater danger. In the course of an hour all our fears were dispelled by the disappearance of all the lights, and I retired calmly to my berth, where I remained undisturbed till morning.

"Wednesday morning, December 3d. At an early hour the pilot was on board. In a few moments I am for the first time to plant my foot upon a foreign

shore. God alone knows if I shall ever have the happiness of returning in safety to my own."

His first impression of a European city was next set down.

"About 9 o'clock we entered the gates (of Havre). The harbor was to me, from its peculiar construction, a great curiosity. A town of the Old World is before us, and truly it bears the stamp of antiquity. Everything, though old, is new and strange to American eyes. After delivering up all our sealed letters, through fear of incurring a fine of five-hundred francs were they detected, surrendering our passports, etc., we bade farewell to our packet and proceeded to the 'Hotel de New York,' where we put up. This house, though not very spacious, is very comfortable. . . . Visited the Cathedral, a very ancient and interesting Gothic building. Called twice on the Curé, but had not the pleasure of seeing him."

His enjoyment of his new experiences was keen as that of a school-boy, and his mind was in a most favorable mood of receptiveness. Everything he saw was suggestive and called forth from his well-stored mind many historical reminiscences. He felt, too, the rare pleasure which only one reared in a non-Catholic country can know, of breathing, for the first time, the air of a Catholic land.

A young New York physician, Dr. Willet, who was in broken health, and who was travelling in the hope of its restoration, was Father McCloskey's companion to Rome. Although a sincere Protestant, he proved to be a very congenial *compagnon de voyage* to the

JOHN McCLOSKEY

As a Student in Rome, 1835

young priest. The two young men set out en route for Paris on the day after their arrival in Havre. In his *Journal* Father McCloskey has recorded with great minuteness, the incidents of their journey until they reached the Eternal City. Much of the record is of such experiences as all travellers meet with, but most of it is interesting as a faithful picture of the discomforts and delights of the modes of crossing the continent of Europe, eighty years ago. When we remember that one can reach Rome today from New York in less than a fortnight, almost without the privation of a single home-comfort, and contrast this with the fact that then it took these two invalids from November 3 to February 8, to reach the same destination, we may be curious to learn something of the difficulties filling up the interval. Leaving Havre, the next entry is:

"*Thursday, December 4th.* Started early this morning for Paris, in company with Dr. Willet; had the entire coupé to ourselves. In pleasant weather this is a most agreeable and commodious way of travelling, almost as pleasant as in a private coach. Good horses, good roads, and travelling through a picturesque and most fertile country. If all France resembles this, it may well be called *la belle France.* Not very far from Rouen we were joined by an elderly, respectable French gentleman. We conversed with him as well as we could. He was extremely obliging and communicative, and informed us that we were then travelling through one of the richest provinces of France, Upper Normandy. Gave a description of

La Vendee. 'Êtes vous Protestant?' inquired Dr. Willet. 'Je suis Catholique,' was the quick reply."

This little episode seems to have been put down for a purpose. Dr. Willet, who had probably never met with many well-educated Catholic laymen, concluded that this very intelligent French gentleman must be a Protestant. One can hear, in the brief note made of the French gentleman's reply, a little chuckle of triumph on the part of the young priest. They arrived at Rouen about one o'clock in the afternoon, visited the Cathedral, a magnificent Gothic building, and saw the tombs of Robert, Duke of Normandy, and other worthies, whose names shine so conspicuously in the history of the days of chivalry and romance. At six o'clock the same evening they set out for Paris, where they arrived on Friday morning, December 5, just about daybreak. They had the good fortune not to be delayed with the customs, and Father McCloskey confesses that it was a fortunate thing for him, because he had failed to procure a "provisoire" at Havre. Had he been asked for this paper, so necessary in the old days, he might have been obliged to return to Havre for it.

The *Journal* contains detailed notes of the journey from Paris to Rome. Every page has its own characteristic touch and shows how keenly he observed all the customs of the country. They reached Lyons on Saturday, December 12, and went on to Marseilles, reaching there, the following Wednesday, December 16, where he searched fruitlessly for the grave of Father Michael De Burgo Egan, once President of the

Mountain, who had died there on May 28, 1829. His description of a favorite spot in modern tourist travel — the citadel Notre Dame de la Garde is a striking one:

"From this spot we enjoyed the finest *coup d'oeil* we had yet met with. Beneath us to the right we beheld the city, its shipping, its muddy-looking houses, its fine domes and spires; beyond a rich and beautiful country, decorated with well-kept gardens and villas; in the distance, on every side bold and precipitous mountains, and immediately before us the blue and tranquil bosom of the Mediterranean, on which reposed at various intervals, the light and airy habitations of the seamen. We looked upon the sea so renowned in ancient times, on which had ridden the rude and unshapely fleets of Rome and Carthage; on which many a well-fought battle had been witnessed, and which many a time and oft had been dyed with blood. This, too, was the sea that had been navigated by greater than the heroes either of Carthage or of Rome, the inspired messengers of God, the apostles of our divine Redeemer."

The journey continued through Toulon, where he spent Christmas Day, 1834; Grasse; Nice, which was reached on January 25, 1835; and then on through Savonne, Genoa, Pisa, Leghorn, and Siena, ending finally in Rome on February 8, 1835.

"On the morning of Sunday, February 8," he writes, "about midday, one of our party who happened to be walking before the carriage, and had reached the summit of a hill before us, exclaimed in the shrill

tones, accompanied by all the violent gesticulations of a Frenchman: 'Rome! Rome!' It was to us like what the cry of Achates must have been to the tempest-tossed and weather-beaten crew of the 'Pius Æneas.' We bounded from the carriage and hastened to ascend the nearest eminence, from which, though at a distance of nearly twenty miles, we could distinctly view the majestic dome of St. Peter's and the tower of the Castle St. Angelo. Words could never convey to you a correct idea of the tumult of feeling which agitated my bosom at this moment. Before me stood in solitary grandeur, surrounded by nothing but a desolate and deathlike waste, the seven hilled city. There stood the city which had been visited by St. Peter and St. Paul, and in which they surrendered their lives in testimony of the faith they had there established. My eyes now behold the same scenes on which theirs had often rested; the same sky, the same hills, the same plains, the same mountains. I now behold the city from whose gates had gone forth victorious armies to conquer the world. They had trodden the same soil which I was treading, perhaps the very spot on which I stood had been signalized by some of their achievements.

"Our impatience of arrival seemed now to increase at every moment, and the slow progress of our *vettura* was scarcely endurable. About 4 p. m. we crossed the Ponte Molle, near the spot where Constantine defeated Maxentius, where he also beheld the Cross in the heavens, and near which Maxentius was drowned in endeavoring to escape (it is said). A few moments more brought us to the city, which we entered by the

gate called the Porta del Popolo, the noblest entrance of any city in the world. But I am not writing a book of travels. I must not permit myself to enter into too many details, but carry you hastily over a few of the principle scenes of interest which I have visited. As soon, therefore, as we had arrived at the hotel, we got ourselves in readiness for dinner, and although it was then past 6 o'clock in the evening, we determined to see St. Peter's before resting our heads upon a pillow. Off, therefore, we started, with no other guide than the direction given us at the hotel, and after a walk of about twenty minutes, St. Peter's, with its towering dome, its semi-circular colonnade, its Egyptian obelisk, and its ever-playing fountains, was before us.

"We paused to gaze for some moments upon a scene surpassing all we had yet beheld, and rendered if possible doubly beautiful by the soft light of the hour at which we visited it. I must confess, however, that I shared in the disappointment experienced by all travellers as to the imposing appearance of the church itself. This is principally on account of its form, which is that of a Latin cross, instead of its being a Grecian one, as was the wish of the great designer. By this construction the dome is thrown so far back as to be almost entirely hid when taking a front view of the building. However, we were more inclined to enjoy than to criticize. After lingering for an hour or more around the enchanting spot, we were content to return to our lodgings, and afford the mind some respite from its long state of excitement and agitation. The next day we again visited St.

Peter's, and had an opportunity of seeing its interior. But I am not vain enough to begin to describe it to you. I will only say that, after the repeated visits I have made to this noble monument of art, I felt more and more the truth of the lines of Byron:

Thou seest not all, but piecemeal thou must break
To separate contemplation the great whole."

Father McCloskey was highly favored in the friends he found in the Eternal City. Through the Rt. Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, Coadjutor of the Bishop of Philadelphia, he was introduced by letter to Monsignor Angelo Mai, then Secretary of the Congregation of the Propaganda, and later librarian of the Vatican, who was, as Cardinal Wiseman has observed, "the discoverer of more lost works, and the transcriber of more ancient manuscripts, sacred and profane, than it has fallen to any one else's share, in modern times, to publish." As Secretary of the Propaganda, all the affairs of the American Church passed under the eye of Monsignor Mai. To Drs. Cullen and O'Connor, the Rector and Vice-Rector of the Irish College, he had introductions from the Very Rev. Dr. Power, Vicar-General of New York. Cardinal Weld was another of the first Roman acquaintances of the young priest, who bore a letter of introduction from His Eminence's sister, Mrs. Bodenham, whom he had met in Paris. Cardinal Weld had more than an official connection with the young Church of the West. It was in the chapel of his father's house, Lulworth Castle, Dorsetshire, England, when young Weld was only seventeen, that Dr. Carroll, the first Bishop of

Baltimore, was consecrated, and between whom and the Weld family there continued the closest friendship, during the subsequent years of the Archbishop's life.

And here we may be pardoned for yielding to a reflection which forces itself, doubtless, also upon the reader. How little did the Father of the American hierarchy dream, on that memorable morning of his consecration, as he laid his newly anointed hands in benediction upon the head of a young scion of the house of his pious host, that this good youth of seventeen was to be one of the first English Cardinals since the Reformation! The "Second Spring" of England's faith was then sixty winters distant, and, to human ken, seemed centuries away; for as Cardinal Newman says in his famous sermon "no longer was the Catholic Church in England, nay, no longer a Catholic community; but a few adherents of the Old Religion moving silently and sorrowfully about, as memorials of what had been." Little did Cardinal Weld, forty-five years later, think that the humble young priest from the New World who knelt for his eminent patron's blessing, was destined to be the first fair fruit of that far-off and obscure corner of Christ's Vineyard to be raised to the cardinalitial dignity; for Cardinal Weld remembered the time when America had no bishop and recalled the doubts and misgivings of the best and wisest as to the danger of sending a Roman Prelate into the new republic, not yet emancipated from the inherited fear of "popery, prelacy, and wooden shoes." Truly for the Church in both nations, the close of the eighteenth century was the hour of deepest gloom that goes before the dawn.

Dr. Cullen held, perhaps, still closer relations with the heads of the Church in the United States. Through his hands passed, in those early days, before our bishops had grown familiar with the methods of the Roman Curia, much of the confidential correspondence touching our ecclesiastical administration and discipline. The attachment which sprang up at their first meeting between the young New York priest and the scarcely less youthful but wise, learned, and already influential Irish rector, grew and ripened into a life-long friendship. It is noteworthy, too, that Dr. Cullen was destined to be not only the first Cardinal amongst the numerous prelates educated in the College of the Propaganda, but also the first of Irish birth in the history of the Church to be elevated to the highest office in the gift of the Holy See. Of Dr. O'Connor's relations with this country it suffices to say that he became the first Bishop of Pittsburgh. Among the many prominent Americans he met during his stay in Rome was Edward Tyrrel Channing, the younger brother of the Rev. Dr. Channing, the celebrated Unitarian divine. Mr. Channing resided one or two winters in Rome, while Father McCloskey was there. Channing was very deeply impressed by all that he saw in Rome, and had many long conversations with Father McCloskey on the subject of religion. He confessed himself satisfied with everything in the Catholic Faith, but could not bring himself to accept the Divinity of Christ. He always envied converts to the Catholic Church. To one of his friends, who had become a Catholic, he said: "I envy you; you have now set your foot upon the rock!"

It was the intention of Father McCloskey to enter as a student at the Propaganda, and with this view he called upon Monsignor Mai, in whose absence he was very courteously received by the Rector of the college, the Abbate Count Reisach. After learning the intentions of Father McCloskey as to his future in Rome, the Abbate inquired if he were in a position to meet his own expenses while pursuing his studies. On finding that such was the case he said: "Well, then, I would advise you, since you are in delicate health, to take residence in some religious house where you will be above suspicion, and where your time will be at your disposal to take the needed care of yourself, and to attend the lectures of the Roman College, where you will have a splendid staff of professors." Next day he met Mgr. Mai, who put to him the same questions and gave him the same advice. A few days later, at dinner in the Collegio Irlandese, where a place was reserved for him at table as long as he remained in Rome, he met a young Irish priest, Father Downes, who was then rooming at the Convent of S. Andrea della Valle, whilst pursuing an advanced course after a successful career in Maynooth. It was arranged that Father McCloskey should take quarters in the same convent. This convent belonged to the Theatine Fathers, and the church of the same name adjoining the convent is said to stand on the site of the senate-house, where

In his mantle muffling up his face
Even at the base of Pompey's statue,
Which all the while ran blood, great Cæsar fell.

Following the advice of his experienced and learned friends, Father McCloskey at once entered as a student of the Roman College, which was under the charge of the Jesuits, and was the leading institution in Rome. This college (also called the Gregorian University), built, endowed, and presented to the Jesuits by Gregory XIII, has given to the Church ten popes. Here he had as professors such scholars as the celebrated theologian Perrone, and others worthy to sit in the chairs once filled by Cornelius à Lapide, Bellarmine, and Suarez. Of his professors and of his new life, the following fragments of correspondence from Rome will give the best index of his mind's growth and of the influence which, perhaps more than anything else, went to the formation of the character of the future Archbishop of New York. It is to be regretted that the letters received from Father McCloskey during his residence in Rome have not been preserved; at least we have been able to find only a few. Fragments only of some twenty letters have been found among the Cardinal's papers, — copies or first drafts, in whole or in part, of epistles addressed to friends at home. It seems to have been his habit to make a rough draft of a letter and afterwards to elaborate it. These first sketches, however, are perhaps a more correct reflex of his actual mind than the more carefully prepared letters, and therefore leave less to be regretted than the loss of the copies received by his friends. Sometimes these drafts are without date, except the year, and in only a few instances is there any internal evidence to indicate precisely the person addressed. Besides these letters, there is still in

existence a *Diary* in which are elaborate descriptions of the grand church ceremonies, visits to sacred shrines, and experiences on country excursions during the *villeggiatura*, containing, of course, much that Roman visitors or students are familiar with, but giving also his individual impression of persons and things with refreshing originality.

In the following letter addressed to his Bishop, Rt. Rev. Dr. Dubois, he announces his arrival in the Eternal City:

CONVENT OF S. ANDREA DELLA VALLE
ROME, *March* 5, 1835

Rt. Rev. and Respected Sir:

I had anticipated the pleasure of addressing you from the Eternal City at a much earlier period than the present; and you, no doubt, expected to receive intelligence of my arrival more than a month ago. But in consequence of repeated and most unexpected delays, our journey through France and Italy was prolonged for something more than two entire months; so that we did not arrive in Rome until the 8th of February. I wrote you a few lines immediately after my arrival at Havre, informing you of the happy and prosperous termination of our voyage, and of the great benefit which I have received from it. It was my wish and intention to write you from several of the cities through which we passed, but as I could have given you little more than the tedious details of my travel, I thought it best to defer troubling you until my arrival here, always flattering myself that a few days more would find it accomplished.

On our way from Paris to Marseilles we met with no obstacles, but, on the contrary, had a most interesting journey, — passing through Lyons — and one which we enjoyed exceedingly.

It was, as you know, our determination to take the steamer immediately from Marseilles to Civita Vecchia, by which arrangement we would be in Rome at Christmas or New Year's. The boat in which we were to sail and on which we had engaged our passage had not yet returned from Naples, but was expected daily. After waiting three or four days beyond its accustomed return, we learned that the boat was lost between Naples and Civita Vecchia, but that neither lives nor property of any were lost. Our only alternative then was either to remain in Marseilles a week longer and proceed to Nice and there meet the next boat, which on account of cholera in Spain was condemned to perform its quarantine of five days, or to remain at this place. We of course chose the latter; and after nearly a week's detention in Marseilles, we were extremely glad to find ourselves once more in motion and on our road to Toulon.

Meantime, your package for Cardinal Weld was forwarded by post, in order that he might receive it in due time.

The "package" for Cardinal Weld was in all probability a statement of the disturbed condition of things then existing in New York, and an application to His Eminence to use his influence to have either Dr. Pise or Father Mulledy appointed the Bishop's Coadjutor. One is led to this belief from the fact that Father

McCloskey was the bearer of another "package for Cardinal Weld" from Very Rev. Dr. Power, V.G., whose friends thought that the best interests of religion called for his appointment to the position. The fact of Father McCloskey's being the bearer of these communications, and of his having forwarded them, led "some wiseacres sapiently to surmise that this must be the business" of his journey. This rumor may have been a disguised blessing to him, and may have procured for him some words of fatherly advice from Cardinal Weld as to avoiding issues of this nature. At least this is the inference one would naturally draw from the account of his interview with His Eminence, as told in the following letter to Dr. Power. But, apart from any such advice, it was entirely in keeping with Cardinal McCloskey's lifelong course to avoid partisanship, while holding with unshaken firmness his own convictions.

His letter to Dr. Power is most interesting from the account it gives of his studies and of his state of mind in his new surroundings. It is without date, except the year, but doubtless was written soon after he settled down to work.

1835

Very Rev. and dear Friend:

Notwithstanding the repeated resolutions I made of writing to you immediately after my arrival in Rome, I have permitted weeks and months to elapse without having yet fulfilled my promises. So totally destitute am I of all apology that I am almost ashamed to write at all after so much procrastination. I should at least have long since acknowledged my obligations

to you for the letters with which you favored me and which were to me essential service. . . .

The package directed to Cardinal Weld which you entrusted to my care I thought advisable to forward by post, on account of the very long delays to which I was subjected after leaving Marseilles, by quarantine, and the difficulty of procuring places in the diligence during the Christmas holidays. As I was the bearer of another letter to Cardinal Weld from his sister, to whom I had the honor to be introduced in Paris, I made it my business to call on him soon after my arrival here. He told me that the package had arrived safely. As His Eminence seemed to be very busily engaged at the time I had but very little conversation with him, and I have not called on him since. I found that all I had heard of his affability and condescension was in nothing exaggerated; but I am credibly informed that, owing to some particular circumstances with which I am not acquainted, the Cardinals in general have become more cautious in conversing with private clergymen on ecclesiastical matters of any importance.

However, it is a very certain fact, which I have already had many opportunities of verifying, that the affairs of the American Church, even to the minutest details of individual dioceses, and of New York perhaps more than any other, are very well known in the Eternal City. For instance, the news of the misunderstanding between the Bishop and Mr. Levins had reached here long before I had arrived. The fact of my being on my road was also known, and some wiseacres had sapiently surmised that this must be the business of

my journey. For my own part the plan which I have adopted and to which I will adhere is not to meddle myself with any matters of the kind. . . .

As my great object in wishing to spend some time in the metropolis of the Christian world was self-improvement, it is to this object I endeavor exclusively to devote myself. Should I, however, be called upon or interrogated by any one having the right to do so, I would, of course, deem it my duty to speak what I conscientiously believe to be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. What my convictions are you already sufficiently know.

And truly I have much reason to congratulate myself on my great and good fortune, in having afforded me such golden opportunities as may here be enjoyed. Rome is still the City of the soul; the Mother of arts; the Parent of our religion. Pregnant as are her crumbling monuments and hoary ruins with classic and historic associations, every temple and almost every shrine seems fraught with lessons to the Christian far more affecting in all that is instructive, all that is sublime in the history of our religion. Seated in her libraries you can converse with the earliest and most venerable Doctors of the Church, and gather the most precious knowledge amid the vast and various treasures which they open to you. And emerging from the study to mingle in the realities of life, you can, if you will, discover new sources of instruction and edification as well as of pleasure at almost every step. Indeed I can never be too thankful to those who encouraged me in my desire of going abroad. Never could I have imagined that so strong impressions could be made upon me,

or that I had so much enthusiasm in my nature as I experienced since I first landed in Havre. And should it cost me the last cent I have, I would have considered myself as being more than amply repaid. I will not venture to tax your time and patience by alluding to any of the numberless and interesting scenes I have witnessed in Rome. I may presume, however, that you would be pleased to know how I am situated and what I am about. I board in the Convent of S. Andrea della Valle, and bye the bye a very classic spot, where

Brutus made the dagger's edge surpass
The conqueror's sword, in bearing fame away.

I have a room sufficiently large and commodious, and am as much master of my time and actions as I would be in a house of my own; with this only exception, that I cannot be out at a late hour, which is no inconvenience to me, as I visit no one except the clergymen of colleges, etc. There is a very good library in the Convent to which I have access when I please, as well as to many others in Rome. I attend each day two lectures at the Roman College, one on moral, the other on dogmatic, theology. These lectures are considered by far the best in Rome. In addition to this I attend what is called an Academy of the Sapienza, where students, principally clergymen who have already finished their course, discuss controversial questions, to which they always come prepared, as being proposed a week previously. Scripture and ecclesiastical history, I study privately.

In the following letter to his sister we learn more of the details of his life, outside the lecture hall, at

this period, as well as the fact that the distraction of distance and travel and close application to study had not dried up the well-spring of affection for his family, to whom he was ever devotedly attached:

Dear Sister:

Seated at my table in one of my pensive moods, and imagination transporting me, as it usually does on such occasions, across the wide Atlantic even to the bosom of my own dear family, the reflection has forcibly occurred to me that, since my departure from America, I have not addressed to you specially a single letter.

It is true I have in most cases written to mother and yourself conjointly, and this, I hope, has always been sufficient to prove to you, if proof were necessary, that you were not forgotten, and that coldness or want of affection has no share in my not writing to yourself individually. I know that in heart and in feeling mother and you are one, and that for this reason there was little use in attending to what was, after all, a cold formality, that of sending you separate letters. I hope that the plan I have adopted will satisfy both parties. I think it, however, nothing more than a just tribute of affection to gratify the impulse I now feel of saying a few words to you.

During our separation, which will not, I hope, be very long, after the reading of a letter from you and my dear mother, I enjoy nothing more than the answering of them. This pleasing occupation makes me feel as if I was again really conversing with you, and can almost for a moment forget how great is the

interval that lies between us. What shall I write to you about? I could, of course, at any time, fill pages with accounts of things which I have seen in this city of wonders; but I have always preferred to write in the good old way. And conceiving that you would be better pleased to hear something of myself, I have alluded but very rarely to other things. Indeed, it is a common failing with persons who travel, and one which I thought to avoid, of writing to their families long details of their sight-seeings, etc., and leaving them quite in the dark as to themselves. I intend, therefore, by way of pastime, to let you know precisely how I live in Rome.

I rise at six; say Mass at the Church of the Gesù; walk to the Roman College; hear the lectures; return to my room; study till dinner — the company are the members of the religious community with which I live. After dinner I chat a while with my companion, a young Irish clergyman. In the afternoon I return for lectures; take a short walk; visit the Blessed Sacrament in some of the many churches near at hand; return in the evening before the *Ave Maria*, i.e., sundown; study till supper, and, after an hour or more of reading, retire for the night.

Then follows a pen portrait of himself as he appears on the streets of Rome:

Imagine that you see me with a high-cocked hat, cassock, silk mantle or cloak according to the weather, and shoes with buckles, walking through the streets of this great city, minding nobody, and nobody minding me — quite at home.

Close application to study, of which a mass of manuscript notes remain, and the distractions of Roman life, did not prevent him from keeping in touch with the state of affairs in his own diocese. In fact he was consulted on many points of administration by his bishop, and his views were given with the clearness and frankness which always marked his words when he felt called upon to write or speak.

CONVENT OF S. ANDREA DELLA VALLE
ROME, *July* 28, 1835

Rt. Rev. and Dear Sir:

I have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your kind letter bearing date 15th May, by the arrival of Mr. Henry, who reached this city a few days since (and it is needless to say that I was made glad by the sight of even one American face). It gave me great pleasure to hear that you were in good health and spirits, notwithstanding the many perplexities and troubles by which you are surrounded. It seems that things are the same as when I left. It was very gratifying to know that Rev. Mr. Levins has chosen the more prudent part in keeping silence.... So Nyack (College) still remains *in statu quo*. How strange it is that the people must have favors forced upon them; that they should so obstinately oppose what is only for their good! But for my part I would rather see the whole establishment at the bottom of the Tappan Zee than see it under the control of lay trustees.

The more I contrast the conditions of Catholic institutions, of Catholic laity and clergy here, with the situation of the same in the United States, the

more do I deprecate the baneful system of Trusteeism which has been at the bottom of all the most serious evils which have yet arisen in the Church of America.

You speak of having the Jesuits; but would not that defeat one of the main objects of your seminary, namely, educating clergymen for the mission? I am not aware that Jesuits would conduct a seminary for the training of young men to be secular clergymen. As to the school for the boys, no doubt, in this point of view, they would be eminently useful. But there can be no doubt as to the fact that clergymen bound together by no particular tie could ever give an institution that full organization and harmony, or that unity of discipline and government so necessary to secure its stability and permanence.

As for myself, I grow more and more pleased with my situation daily; and it has, I think, been very fortunate for me that I did not go to the Propaganda. There has been an unusual degree of sickness there this season; great numbers of the students have been spitting blood. Among others D. Ferry and another American; Manahan has been a little unwell from the same complaint, but I believe he is quite recovered.

My own health continues very good. At this particular season, of course, I feel a little of the languor and lassitude that are necessarily produced by such intense continuous heat as we here experience. I still attend lectures as usual on dogmatic theology in the Roman College. I am greatly pleased with our professor of dogma; he is most clear and forcible on controversial points of the present day, to which he attaches by far the most interest. His course will be

published. The first volume has already appeared. It is a theology the best of any I have yet seen on the controversies of the time. His objections are all drawn from the works of modern rationalist and deistical writers. His book is enriched with copious and learned notes, in which he shows his acquaintance with the entire state of controversy in Germany, England, and America.

I have made few acquaintances, in fact none except among the inmates of the Propaganda, Irish, and English Colleges. I visit none. The hours not employed in study are spent in taking exercise, in visiting churches and other places of interest.

About this time (March 18, 1835) Father McCloskey suffered the loss, by an early death, of his beloved sister; she was only eighteen. That he could be devotedly attached and was possessed of a most affectionate disposition, despite his well-remembered reserve of manner which to strangers looked like native coldness, is evident from the way in which he mourns her loss. The letter in which he pours out the sorrow of his soul is addressed to a reverend friend who was on very intimate terms with the family, and who had written to him a letter of condolence. The friend was then, it would seem, the rector of Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg.

Rev. and Dear Friend:

Your kind letter of 18th May came to hand a few weeks since. It would be difficult for me to express to you the sincere pleasure I derived from its perusal.

. . . At such a distance from all who are near and dear to me, everything which forcibly recalls them to mind, any, even the most trifling intelligence that is received from or concerning them, is seized and clung to with an eagerness and tenacity which makes me more than ever feel how strangely powerful are to the sojourners in a foreign land the magic names of country, home and friends. Yet as every tender word or affection is only rendered the more quick and sensitive the wider the separation, if rudely or severely struck the more long and piercing will be its vibrations: and when there is no ancient friend, no skilful hand to help restore it to its proper tone, how difficult it is for the afflicted soul properly again to attune it! But why should I say: how difficult? What dearer friend, what sweeter comforter, can the heart require than it will find in religion? Yes; religion supplies us with a balm for every wound, a soothing remedy for every grief. You, dear friend, have expressed your sympathy for the loss I have sustained in the death of a dearest sister. I thank you for your kindness, and must apologize for intruding my melancholy thought upon you. But whenever any thing presses heavily on the mind we find relief in giving utterance to our thoughts. And you, no doubt, will pardon my weakness when I tell you that the sister I have lost was one most dear to me. Although, when I bade her farewell, I could hardly flatter myself that I should meet her again in this world, still I little thought that the very first letter I should receive from home should bring me such mournful tidings, and give me to know that my affection for her was not greater than hers

for me, and that from the day of my departure she grieved for me as if I had died before her. Her health and spirits began to droop more and more rapidly, leaving room to think that sorrow had accelerated her death. My mother's health, I fear, will be impaired by the loss; and God only knows what ones of my family I am again to see. These affections. . . . But I will be more resigned. God's holy will be done! I feel as if I could thank you in advance for reading the above, and bearing with my foolish weakness. Farewell, then, to gloomy thoughts, and let imagination carry me to the more smiling home of my best and happiest years.

Rome exercised upon Father McCloskey the same effect it always has upon cultured minds. His habits and works were not broken up but stimulated. His mental and moral preparation for his stay, and his extended studies in that focus of inspiration rendered him fully appreciative of the old things and new which he saw around him. The following extract is from a *Diary* kept at this period:

"Each day affords new sources of pleasure, and an intellectual banquet of which one can never partake to satiety. To kneel in the churches erected as early as the days of Constantine, to see the monuments of an ancient faith on every side, to feel that here have knelt and prayed the best and holiest, whose sanctity has shed a soft and hallowed light upon the morn of Christianity! One feels his soul expand within him, conversing with spirits of another world, and irresistibly yields to the strong language which speaks to one from all sides, that our religion is divine. We need not

envy the Protestants. They may with greater confidence raise their heads in a new country, but here they cannot but feel that they are intruders and unlawful usurpers in the presence of public monuments, undying records which show our title deeds to our rightful inheritance to be so clear. Oh, what cannot one enjoy who comes to this great classic and holy city, with a mind prepared to appreciate its historic and religious charm! And of how much must he be deprived who comes as an idle traveller, to spend his time and money, with a barren mind and still more barren heart! And yet of such there are not a few; idle gazers who love to see strange sights, murmur or are delighted — *volia tout.*"

At the close of the scholastic year, which, in Rome, runs into the deadly heat of August, Father McCloskey felt the need of the usual relaxation. A diary, marked *A Country Excursion*, contains a rather minute and matter-of-fact relation of his experiences during a prolonged ramble through the charming and classic hill country that surrounds the Roman Campagna. The opening entry in the *Excursion* is:

"Frascati, *September* 21, 1835. As it is customary for a very great part of the inhabitants of Rome, particularly students, to take what they call a *villeggiatura* or excursion to some part of the country during the two months of September and October, I determined to avail myself of the custom, and pay a visit to such places in the vicinity of Rome as possess most interest, and are, at the same time, remarkable for salubrity. Accordingly I set out this morning

in company with Rev. Mr. Downes, at about 6 o'clock, and after a pleasant ride of three hours in a *vettura*, arrived here in Frascati."

The associations of this hill country, which frames in almost the whole of Roman history, seem to have monopolized his thoughts. The question as to the exact site of Cicero's villa, then so much discussed amongst antiquarians, had no interest for him. It was his to enjoy, leaving controversy to others — a philosophic spirit which marked him through life, especially when the issue was purely academic. The *Diary*, it is to be regretted, is written in a rather matter-of-fact style. Had the tourist indulged more freely in comments, we might possibly be furnished with a better knowledge of what formed his ideals of manners and men. However, when he does so indulge, his previous reserve is a bond for his sincerity. Here and there he does let his judgment have its way. In the notes written in Palestrina he says:

"I may here, perhaps, as well as elsewhere, note a circumstance which has struck me very forcibly and frequently during this excursion. It is the high degree of instruction which is found even amongst the lowest classes of the people, old and young, on the subject of their religion. A very great portion, too, can read and write, and all of them have an independence of tone and manner, blended with proper civility, which show that they are not a people either of abject minds or accustomed to servile treatment. Many are very poor and seldom eat meat; but they have plenty of pure wine and wholesome bread."

But all these classic, historic and scenic surroundings could not charm away the homesickness which never left him till his return to his native land. Few there are who have ever wandered far from home, at least for the first time, who will not enter into the warmth with which the young priest read an old home newspaper which came his way at this time. "This morning," he writes, in Tivoli, "we visited the Irish college villa, where I had the pleasure of getting three numbers of the *Catholic Herald*, the perusal of which I have this moment finished. One of them contained the 'Distribution of Premiums at Mt. St. Mary's.' I cannot express the interest with which I read this notice, one of so little interest to any one else on this side of the ocean. I was careful not to skip a single name; was glad to see that many in whom I was much interested had acquitted themselves with great credit, and also that there were besides many names that were strange to me. . . ."

At the opening of the scholastic year (November, 1835), Father McCloskey continued to attend the lectures on dogmatic and moral theology at the Gregorian University, and was entered as a student of the University of the Sapienza for a course in canon law. He was now entering on his second year of Roman residence; events and persons of more than common interest began to come into his life. He used to say, in later years, that the two cardinals with whom he was best acquainted were Cardinal Weld and Cardinal Fesch, the uncle of Napoleon. It was through the Bishop of Vincennes that he came to

know Cardinal Fesch. Bishop Bruté, his friend from boyhood, and his preceptor for twelve years, came to Rome about this time. The holy bishop was already a personage there. He was well known to Gregory XVI, to Cardinal Fesch, and to several members of the Sacred College, as a missionary of boundless zeal, a saintly and learned prelate. The good bishop presented his young protégé — for as such he looked upon John McCloskey from his entrance into Mount St. Mary's — to the famous French Cardinal, who entertained a warm affection for the Bishop of Vincennes. This introduction secured for the young priest the *entrée* to the palace of the distinguished Cardinal, to whose library and galleries he was asked to come as often as he felt disposed, and where he was received *sans cérémonie*. He often found the venerable Prince of the Church in his library; and frequently the aged prelate would mount a ladder to procure some rare book or manuscript to interest his young friend; or would accompany him through his gallery of choice paintings, and point out their best features with a charming simplicity. It was, no doubt, by her illustrious brother that Father McCloskey was presented to Napoleon's mother, Madame Letitia Bonaparte, to whom he thus refers in the letter quoted above: "Since I last wrote you, I had the opportunity of seeing Bonaparte's mother. She was propped up in bed, eating her breakfast from a little table used by her son on St. Helena, the only article of furniture belonging to the Emperor she has. She is quite a skeleton; has a good deal of French countenance; the outlines of the face are not unlike

those of Napoleon when young. She is quite blind. How few are now around her! Cardinal Fesch visits her every day." The letter closes with a remark which shows that he kept in touch with American affairs: "I have just learned of the dreadful fire in New York, and of President Jackson's message."

About this time Father McCloskey suffered the loss of a very dear and devoted friend, Father Anthony Kohlmann, S.J. As pastor of St. Peter's, Barclay Street, he had been the adviser of the young priest's parents in New York for many years. He had seen him grow up from childhood, and had been his guide and friend in Rome. It is therefore but natural that he should express himself feelingly on the death of this holy man, as in this letter addressed to the Very Rev. Dr. Power:

ROME, *April* 15, 1836

Very Rev. dear Sir:

It is truly with deep regret that I now feel it my duty to acquaint you with the news, which, if not already known to you, cannot but give you pain. Our venerable and most worthy friend, Father Kohlmann, is no more. He has been summoned to another world, after a warning of only a few days. On Friday, the 8th. inst., he was as usual in his confessional. During the course of the day he was seized with a violent fever which obliged him to take to his bed, and on Sunday morning, about five o'clock, he was a corpse. On Monday, I had the melancholy pleasure of beholding him laid out in the Church of the Gesù, where numbers were assembled to show respect for his

memory, and to view for a little time his mortal remains. His sickness was so very short that death effected but little change in his appearance. He seemed to be in a gentle sleep, such calmness and placidity. His countenance seemed to have lost nothing of its usual fulness or even freshness. And such was the composure of every feature, that one could hardly resist saying within himself: He is not dead, but sleepeth. His loss as you may well conceive, is deeply regretted by the members of his Order here as well as by all who knew him.

As for myself, I feel his death most sensibly, having lost in him so prudent a director, so kind a father and friend.

You also, Very Reverend and dear Sir, are deprived by his death of a most active and valuable friend in Rome. And now that he rests in his grave, I may be permitted to say of him what I did not feel at liberty to say during his life.

It was his conviction, more than once expressed to me, that you ought to be appointed Coadjutor-Bishop of New York; and he has used influence to this effect in the Propaganda. The history and result of the nominations by Bishop Dubois you are no doubt better acquainted with than myself. I will only say that Father Kohlmann expressed his opinions on this subject to Monsignor Mai. The letter which you wrote Father Kohlmann on the subject was read to the Prefect of the Propaganda and also to Monsignor Mai. The Cardinal mentioned at the time that none of the nominations would be acted upon; but that, although the Sacred Congregation would instantane-

ously ratify your appointment, should your name be ever presented, they felt a delicacy in having recourse to any measures which would seem to constrain the Bishop; so that matters seem to remain *in statu quo*. What will be the result God only knows.

I have received but one letter from the bishop, and none from any one else in New York on the subject, since I left; so that I am perfectly in the dark as to what is the aspect of things on the other side of the Atlantic.

I am happy to add (but *entre nous*) that Bishop Bruté, who lately visited Rome, coincided altogether with the views of Father Kohlmann, — which also are my own, — and expressed his sentiments both verbally and in writing to Cardinal Fransoni.

It gradually became the intention of Bishop Dubois to place Father McCloskey in charge of the new college. This was one of the motives that later influenced the good bishop in granting a long leave of absence to such a valuable young priest, at a time when the needs of the diocese were great and rapidly growing. Of this Father McCloskey was aware, hence his interest in all the affairs of the college was active even at such a distance; and, when opportunity offered, he was not slow to advance its claims on the support of such societies as aided mission work. This appears from the following letter to Bishop Dubois, dated Rome, June 15, 1836:

Rt. Rev. and dear Sir:

There has been lately established in this city a society somewhat similar to the Leopoldine Society of Vienna,

or, more properly, to the *Société de la Propagation de la Foi* of France. . . . Their object, therefore, is to render whatever temporal or spiritual assistance they can to foreign missions. The founder and principal instigator of the society is a learned and zealous clergyman of Rome, whose piety and self-sacrifice have actually caused him to be esteemed by many as a saint. To this friend of religion I had the honor of being lately introduced, at his own request. I did not fail to explain to him, at the very first interview (in which he laid open to me the objects of the Society and the great interest he felt in the American missions), as well as I could, the state of your diocese, and particularly the unfinished state of the college. He was anxious to know what were the latest accounts concerning it; but, unfortunately, I could give him no authorized statement later than that contained in your first letter. What change may have occurred or what new prospects may have opened since that period, of course I could not say. I have ventured, however, to act on the presumption that things still remain *in statu quo*, convinced that whatever assistance could be had would, at all times, be acceptable. I therefore, according to his advice, drew up a short statistical account of the Catholic and Protestant population of the State, the comparative numbers of Protestant ministers and Catholic priests, of Protestant and Catholic churches and public institutions, with all which data I happened to be already furnished, having previously paid some attention to the subject. I felt that, by submitting to the Society *facts*, I was placing before them the strongest argument to con-

vince them how well directed their exertions would be in assisting your College.

It would be interesting to know if the new college or the many good works of Bishop Dubois profited anything by this recommendation to the new Roman mission society. In the archives of the diocese, however, there is no record of such aid, so far as we have been able to find.

It was at this period of his Roman life, that Father McCloskey made the acquaintance of Père Lacordaire. The two young priests had much in common which drew them into a close friendship from the first, although Lacordaire was some years older than Father McCloskey. Both had come to the centre of Christianity in the early days of their priesthood, to acquire that more profound knowledge of the sacred sciences, which would enable them to turn to better advantage for the good of souls, the gift of speech in which each had given promise of great things in his own country. Lacordaire's sympathies were strongly democratic, and markedly so when there was question of American democracy. His father had served as army surgeon under Rochambeau during the American Revolution. Bishop Dubois, it is believed, had invited him some time previously to his diocese, with the promise of the vicar-generalship. The eloquent and liberty-loving young abbé had accepted, and, it is said, had even engaged his place on the *diligence* for Havre, when the "Three Day's Revolution" broke out (July, 1830), and turned the whole tide of his life. Not a few have speculated on what might have been the

influence of such a man on the destinies of the young and growing Diocese of New York. Had Lacordaire come, he would probably, it is thought, have succeeded Bishop Dubois, and thus the great Archbishop Hughes would have been lost to a field for which he seemed created. Evidently the finger of God was here. Each of these great sons of the Church had his destined field. Lacordaire's glorious work in reviving the Dominican Order in France and adding to its prestige the éclat of his own fame, seems to have filled the largest possible space he could have covered.

The two young priests roomed not far from the Gesù, Lacordaire in Via San Nicolo, near the Gesù, and Father McCloskey at S. Andrea della Valle, round the corner, so to speak. Both said daily Mass at the Gesù, and took their morning café and attended the lectures together. In his reminiscent moods, the Cardinal used to speak with warm affection and enthusiasm of his young French friend, of whose eloquence even then all the salons of Paris were talking. Lacordaire, he used to say, was fired with love of everything in Rome. One evening as the two friends were returning from the Pincian, the "Ave Maria" was ringing from a hundred Angelus bells. Lacordaire exclaimed with enthusiasm: *Dans les rues de Rome on sent Dieu.*

Lacordaire had been in Rome four years before, in company of "a man of great talents, an accomplished scholar, whose writings had not only rendered great service to religion, but had delighted and astonished Europe," to use the words of Leo XII of De Lamennais, whom the same Pontiff according to Wiseman had

reserved *in petto* for the highest dignity in his gift. They came to seek the approval of the Holy See for the principles of *L'Avenir*, then stirring all France to its depths, and disturbing, too, the peace of the Sovereign Pontiff. Its principles were condemned. De Lamennais refused to submit, and fell as Lucifer fell, never to rise again. "None but an angel or a priest can fall so low," wrote Madame Swetchine of him to his young friend. Fortunately, Lacordaire, his ablest and favorite pupil, had the grace to scent the danger, and to break with the master. Speaking of his narrow escape, one day, to Father McCloskey, he broke out into a rhapsody over Rome and why he loved her more than ever, exclaiming: *Parce qu'elle m'a arraché de l'abyme.*

How differently did the Roman medicine act on the master, the close of whose ecclesiastical career was marked by a foul attack on the Holy See, entitled *Les Affaires de Rome*, in which, to discredit the head of the Church, he seized as a weapon of offence the conciliatory policy of the Sovereign Pontiff towards the Czar, when Russia and Poland were in a deadly struggle. As an earnest of the sincerity of his profession of loyalty to Rome referred to above, Lacordaire took up arms against his former leader, and in a masterly *Lettre sur le Saint Siège* proved that the principles imbibed from De Lamennais were in direct challenge to his conclusions; his refutation of the apostate's charges was triumphant. It is in this letter that Lacordaire makes that able use of a familiar episode. Speaking of a brief address by Gregory XVI to the Polish Bishops, he says: "Even supposing

(which I do not believe) that, in the hope of appeasing the prince who was irritated against a portion of his flock, the pastor expressed himself too strongly, I shall never feel that Priam did anything unworthy of the majesty of a king and the feelings of a father, when he took the hand of Achilles and uttered these sublime words: 'Judge of the depths of my misery, when I kiss the hand that has slain my son.'"

It was whilst Lacordaire was writing this defence of the Holy See that the young American priest and he discussed in their walks on the Pincian and in the Villa Borghese, the sad defection of one of the most remarkable men of the nineteenth century. The rise and fall of *L'Avenir* had a marked effect on Father McCloskey; he was familiar with its whole history, and knew well some of the leading actors in the drama; no wonder, then, that it made on him an unfading impression, and had, it must be presumed, its influence in forming those habits of conservatism which marked his whole after-life, although at heart he was large and liberal.

That he was anxiously keeping in close touch with the progress of the new college for the education of the clergy which Bishop Dubois had in mind, is seen in the following letter written at the College of San Andrea della Valle, on November 12, 1836:

Rt. Rev. and Dear Sir:

Your kind letter of August 9, I found awaiting me on my return from S. Eusebius, the house of the Jesuits, where I had been spending eight days in retreat; and eight more consoling days, as well (I trust) as profitable days, I have not passed since my

arrival in Rome. The exercises were given for ecclesiastics exclusively. They were conducted by a Jesuit Father, who had been for twenty years and upwards a Master of Novices; and so thoroughly had mind and heart been imbued with the spirit of the subjects which he treated, that every word which fell from him seemed to be attended by its own special grace, and to operate almost irresistibly its desired effect.

If I am unable to say anything of myself, still I may with safety testify to the virtues of those around me. They were about thirty in number, among them an archbishop and two other prelates. And certainly never did I behold among clergymen more edifying faith; and never was my already high opinion of the sincere, unostentatious virtue of the Roman clergy more confirmed and strengthened. How incalculable, I often reflected within myself, would be the benefits to us clergy in the United States, could we but enjoy the same facilities, nay the same inducements, to withdraw for a time from the distractions and cares of the mission, to some retired spot where we might refresh our spirits, and afterwards go forth with increased alacrity and zeal! And how plain it is that nothing will so effectually secure to us these great advantages as the establishment of well-regulated seminaries.

I am glad to know that Nyack is progressing; yet when I think of the numberless obstacles there are to its more rapid advancement, I cannot but express my fears that a long time must elapse before it can be completed and put in operation. It must be consoling, however, for you to see that it advances, — though slowly, — and to know that the person now intrusted

June 21st 1835
Rome.

Feast of S. Aloysius Gonzaga.

This is the peculiar festival of the Students of Rome – It is observed with the greatest solemnity at the church of the Roman College, S. Ignatius. Nearly all the Students of the College amounting to the number of 1500 receive the holy Communion together on this day – Being anxious to witness so interesting & edifying a Spectacle I took care to be at the church of S. Ignatius at a seasonable hour – when I arrived the Students had just entered, & had taken their places in ranks, forming an aisle in the middle, & extending from the altar along the nave of the church to the very door – The Community Mass, (a low one) was celebrated by a Cardinal, & the choir was composed of some of the choir singers among the pupils. – There were two or three hymns or pieces well executed. – It may be owing to the numberless youthful associations that were connected with the scene before me, but I must confess it was to be the most edifying & the most affecting ceremony I have yet witnessed in Rome – It was one which I shall never forget. – To behold that spacious & beautiful edifice almost exclusively occupied by such a number of Students of every rank & almost every age, arranged in such beautiful order, their countenances bespeaking a deep sense of the act they were about to perform in receiving into their bosoms their divine Lord & Saviour, the strains & to hear at the same time the solemn strains of music which filled the place with pious harmony, was certainly enough to fill a far less sensible breast with holy enthusiasm. – The moment of Communion arrived – It was a moment in which I felt the holiness & sublimity of my religion with a peculiar force – How thrilled a thousand young men & boys, approaching to the table of their divine master, with a modesty

with the superintendence of the farm and building is in every way suited for his situation.

I am delighted to know that there are so many churches springing up in every part of your diocese. The number mentioned in your letter quite astonished me: I counted as many as thirteen. At that rate I can have but little reason to fear that there will be any want of room for me when I return. "But when," methinks I hear you ask, "will that be?" I hope that it will be soon. If Providence grants me continuance of health and prospers my wishes, I will be back in my dear diocese, either in the middle of summer or early in the fall; so that, should you be so kind as to favor me with a letter after the receipt of this, please direct to the care of some one at the Seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris.

The failure of the scheme proposed in 1834 by Mr. Cornelius Heeney had not daunted Bishop Dubois in his determination to erect a seminary for the diocese. It was but natural that he should be spurred on, knowing that Father McCloskey would return from Rome, not only in excellent health but also fully equipped to manage the institution. In January, 1836, he again appealed to his clergy and people to help him, and he obtained the promise of assistance from the Bishops of Philadelphia and Boston. His plan was to erect a college similar to that of Emmitsburg. It was two years later (1838), however, before the plan could be carried out.

With all his undoubted qualifications, Father McCloskey declined to present himself as a candidate

for the degree of Doctor of Divinity. His close friend, Dr. Edmund O'Reilly, later the Provincial of the Jesuits in Ireland, was then a young student of the Irish College. He had passed a brilliant public examination at this time, and proposed to "coach" him for the ordeal, but he refused. And yet the man whose ambition was never fired by titles attained to the highest in the gift of the Sovereign Pontiff. Being asked, one day, in his old age, why he did not take his Doctor's degree, he answered pleasantly, "Well, I did not want to take the trouble," although when consulted by any of his Roman students on the matter, he always said he would be glad to see his young priests bring with them all the honors Rome could give.

In the course of the two years which Father McCloskey passed in Rome, his character and tastes underwent a marked though gradual change. His early experiences in America were well calculated to beget hard feelings towards the enemies and traducers of his faith. The burning of Charlestown convent took place about the time of his departure from New York. In his early diaries and letters after quitting home, this appears not seldom, but rarely towards the close of his Roman days; and no one could be more considerate or more sparing of the feelings of dissenters in his after life, without abating one jot or tittle of the Catholic position on all questions. This is the effect, invariably, of Roman education. "Certainly," says Cardinal Wiseman, "I will bear willing testimony to the absence of all harsh words and uncharitable insinuations against others, in public lectures, or private teaching, or even in conversation at Rome. On

grows up there in a kinder spirit, and learns to speak of errors in a gentler tone than elsewhere, though in the very centre of highest orthodox feeling."

In the spring of 1837 Father McCloskey set out towards home. In a fragmentary diary of his return journey he writes:

"Florence. On the morning of the 10th February, 1837, I bade a reluctant adieu to the 'Holy and Eternal City.' I had spent in it just two years, having arrived on the 8th February, 1835. These two years I am confident I shall ever reckon amongst the happiest and, it may be, the most profitable, of my life. Yet they have passed over me almost as a dream, leaving, I trust, more lasting and more real impressions, but bewildering me in the thought of how they could have fled so rapidly. Rome is still the city of the soul, the city which of all others must ever be dear to the heart of the Catholic. Although there is much to offend the prejudices of persons educated in a different country, or brought up in religious opinions different from those there entertained, still there is much more to edify and please. But it is only by remaining in Rome for a length of time, by having the opportunity of making more than a hasty observation, and of probing under the surface of things, that one can form anything like a just estimate of what Catholics are, and what the elevating influences of their religion. But is it not enough to know that when in the favored city you are truly in the centre of Christianity, — that you behold the proud and enduring trophies of its victories, the splendid witnesses of a nation's gratitude and a

nation's faith rising on every side, in a word, that you have not only what is most venerable in its association with heathen greatness, but also what is most ancient, most touching, most sublime in religion? . . . Is not all this enough to make the heart cling with a child's fondness to so dear a mother? In truth, I felt my mind quite overpowered by the strange tumult of thought which rushed in upon it as I quitted the gates of Rome."

He crossed the Alps by the Simplon, and he used to tell of his perilous passage across the débris of an avalanche, under which a band of tourists had been buried the day before. He visited Germany, Belgium, France and England. In Ireland he made a prolonged stay amongst the genial clergy and hospitable laity of the land of his forefathers, and where he acquired, through actual contact, that deeper insight than he was ever credited with, into the character of the people who were to form, in after years, such a large portion of his flock.

He reached New York in the summer of 1837, and placed himself at once at the disposal of the good Bishop, who had watched from afar the wondrous changes that had come over the young priest's mind and heart. One might say that his real work was now about to begin. With the exception of ten months spent in New York and in Nyack, he had been studying continuously for sixteen years, and from now on his life was to be spent, not as he anticipated in the professor's chair, but in the Vineyard of the Lord, as pastor, bishop, archbishop, and Cardinal of America's foremost Catholic centre.

CHAPTER IV

IN THE VINEYARD (1837–1844)

Pastor of Old St. Joseph's. Father McCloskey and the Recalcitrant Trustees. His Conquest. Christmas Sermons and their Import. John Hughes Becomes Coadjutor Bishop of New York. Seminary at Lafargeville. Foundation of New Seminary and College at Fordham. John McCloskey First President of St. John's College, Fordham. Conversion of James Roosevelt Bayley. Father McCloskey Resigns on account of Ill Health. Address of Student-Body. Back at St. Joseph's. Becomes Coadjutor Bishop of New York (November 21, 1843).

ON his return to New York, Father John McCloskey lived for a few weeks at the old cathedral rectory. His guardian of boyhood days, Mr. Cornelius Heeney, who was living in Brooklyn, appealed to Bishop Dubois to send the young priest to take charge of the newly formed parish of St. Paul in that city. But the trustees had already determined to nominate Rev. Richard Waters, who had attended to them, while assistant at St. James' Church, Brooklyn. Acting on the advice of Bishop Hughes, to whom he had written, and who had been appointed Coadjutor to Bishop Dubois, he refused to allow his name to be considered.

Bishop Dubois, as has been seen, had never given

up hope of restoring the shattered fabric of his purpose to educate his own clergy. Nyack was indeed a mistake, — a "splendid folly," as Bishop Hughes called it, when he saw its ruins for the first time in 1838, and no doubt its burning was providential. But Bishop Dubois kept courageously to his project, although he saw no hopes ahead either of a building or of professors. He concluded to offer the work to a religious order, and in February, 1837, he wrote to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda to make the proposal to the Jesuits or to the Redemptorists. This plan might have succeeded but for the fact that the good bishop offered Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, as well as Nyack, to the Cardinal-Prefect.

The following letter from Bishop Dubois to President Butler of Mount Saint Mary's explains this situation:

Rev. and dear Sir:

I received with pleasure your favor of the 18th. inst. and beg you would accept of my grateful acknowledgements for your punctual attention to the commissions which you had the goodness to undertake. I would have thought it unnecessary to answer it until the objects announced are arrived, but a word of your pleasing communication requires an explanation: We are laboring hard to perfect the work by forming a society. You seem to have forgotten your request and promise to invite a Society already sanctioned by the Holy See to assume the government of two institutions, viz., Mt. St. Mary's and Nyack, promising to transfer the property in your hands, as I would the one in mine, to the Society. In consequence of this

I wrote to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda in Rome to make the proposal to either the Jesuits (which is doubtful) or to the Redemptorists, founded lately by the Blessed Liguori, on the condition of their fulfilling the objects intended by both, and recruiting themselves out of such of our young men as would join them. I applied only for a superior of great merit and a professor of theology for both, and as Nyack is not finished as yet, that both superiors and professors should reside for one year or so at Mt. St. Mary's, until mine was completed.

You must be sensible of the great advantages which both establishments would derive from being placed under the control of the same Society, unconnected with any other in the United States. Being interested only in our two establishments and equally interested in both, as being under their exclusive control, they would help one another, relieve one another in case of difficulties and remove professors from one to the other when they will think it serviceable to either or to the professors themselves. The same system which is adopted at Mt. St. Mary's would be pursued here, and a time may come when the whole diocese may be served by missionaries, members of that Society, and as such under the control of the superior of the seminaries, and thereby relieve the bishop from the surveillance of his clergy, whose appointment or removal he would leave to the superior according to his prudence. The utmost harmony would prevail among all missionaries as members of the same Society, and when disabled they would find a home among their brethren. Meanwhile, young men would be educated for the min-

istry and teach the different classes as a compensation for their education, and having witnessed the spirit of the Society might join it with perfect knowledge of what they were doing. Although neither the superior nor the professor of theology may speak English at first, the superior will easily govern by the means of an interpreter, and the professor of theology giving his lessons of course in Latin will need none.

No education can be given on moderate terms in this country, but by the means of a society. Professors receive such enormous salaries that able ones would absorb the whole revenue of the college, unless enormous board and tuition are required. To give you an example, the professor of grammar in Columbia College here, gets $2000 a year. Nor can they depend long upon a good one, who, if eminent, will be bought by another institution which will offer a higher salary. No subordination and harmony can prevail among professors not united by the vow of obedience, and of course no subordination among the children, constant witnesses of the misunderstanding among their teachers, nor can piety prevail as in a pious and religious order.

Should you have changed your mind respecting that plan agreed on between us, write to me immediately, as I must inform the Cardinal Prefect that it is given up, at least as far as it relates to Emmitsburg, and shall have to delay their coming until my establishment is ready to receive them. Don't forget to put in the box of the picture an engraving of Mt. St. Mary's, illuminated if possible; perhaps they would color it at St. Joseph's. The Redemptorists being under the

special protection of the Leopoldine Society of Vienna will probably be considerably helped by it.

When this fact became known, it looked for a time as if Father McCloskey was not to be considered in the new college and seminary. But, as we shall see, Bishop Dubois' plans were not successful, and within two years the new college and seminary were founded at Fordham, with Father John McCloskey as first president of the college.

An incident once mentioned in conversation by the Cardinal deserves to be chronicled here. One of the trustees of St. Paul's who was a merchant, unwittingly spoke in a rather caustic way about the "young priest by the name of John McCloskey" to a servant of the Cardinal's sister. Unaware of the relationship, he afterwards discovered who the lady was. His son, meanwhile, was on the point of entering St. John's, Fordham, to prepare for the priesthood, and the man naturally thought that the young rector, Father John McCloskey, would show his son scant courtesy. But probably no student received kinder treatment. The young man died before completing his course, and Father McCloskey preached his funeral sermon.

Meanwhile, trouble had broken out at old St. Joseph's, when Bishop Dubois decided to change the pastor, Father James Quinn, to Troy. A committee of the trustees met the bishop at Lansingburg, during his episcopal visitation of that year, and the transfer was deferred. An injudicious remark, credited to Father Quinn, accusing the bishop, who was sensitive on such points, of being under the influence of Dr.

Constantine Pise, brought matters to a climax and Father Quinn was summarily sent to Troy.

The correspondence which passed between Bishop Dubois and the trustees during the months of August and September is acrimonious on both sides. On September 1, 1837, the trustees demanded from the bishop the reason of Father Quinn's removal, and he answered them on September 4, calling their motives in doing so hypocritical and lacking in the spirit of true Catholic obedience. On September 7, the Board authorized two of the trustees to answer the bishop, and in a long letter, which is still preserved, all the vicious elements of trusteeism are plainly visible. The phrases "inherent right," "free agents," "privileges," "legal meetings," etc., are flung back and forth and confuse the point at issue. It is a dreary letter at best, and its tenor can be seen from the following passage:

. . . If you think proper, to leave the church without a clergyman, and execute your threat of closing its doors, the power is vested in you so to do. Better interdict the church than force upon the people a clergyman obnoxious to them. We shall not, as you apprehend, throw the blame on you, but we hold ourselves prepared to vindicate our conduct before an impartial public, tho' it has been asserted that the intelligent, or intellectual portion of the congregation, has espoused the cause of Dr. Pise. Strong in justice of our cause, we shall not shrink from any encounter, to which the unpleasant predicament, in which we are placed may expose us. It will then remain for those,

who may interest themselves in the existing difficulties, to pronounce, whether you have acted the part of an impartial mediator or a biassed partizan

The church was then placed under interdict and a further letter to the bishop has a still more insolent note:

. . . We assert that the great majority of the congregation never will consent to have Dr. Pise placed over them as pastor. Send anyone else you please. But remove him and rescind your rash interdict. The present trustees will then resign immediately. Peace will be restored, and you will have adopted the only means of preventing the publication of our proceedings and correspondence, which is the vindication of their own characters, before the Catholic community of New York, the See of Rome and the hierarchy of the United States, which the trustees now have in press.

The only reasons ever alleged to induce the trustees to desist from publication were based on the inexpediency of the measure. But the assertion of a principle, in which the rights of the trustees of all the churches in the city are involved, must not be sacrificed to expediency. No means have been left untried to win or deter the trustees from a persecution of the course, upon which they have deliberately resolved. Threats, which they laugh to scorn, to injure them in their respective callings, have been indulged in. It has even been hinted that a frantic mob might be found to raze the church, and perchance leave the fragments another black and blasted trophy to emblazon the escutcheon

of the genius of religious intolerance in America. Be it so. If the demoniacal attempt be made, it shall be over the bodies of men, who are ready to attest the purity of the principles which govern their movements by the sacrifice of their lives in the defence of that faith which is common to you and to them. It is, Rt. Revd. Sir, not yet too late to retract. You disregard the wishes of the congregation, in the removal of the Revd. Mr. Quinn. The trustees and congregation bow to your decision. Why, therefore, persevere in forcing upon them against their expressed wishes the Revd. Dr. Pise?

We are, Rt. Revd. Sir, with great respect
Your most obd. Servts.,
R. Hogan
P. Casserly
Committee

Dr. Pise, having no desire to remain in an embarrassing situation, where his simplest actions would be misunderstood, accepted a change. He sent in his resignation in August, 1837, and Father McCloskey was sent to take charge of the parish. The trustees, having succeeded in driving away Dr. Pise, were now openly hostile to the young priest placed over them. The first Sunday Father McCloskey appeared in the pulpit, the pews of the middle aisle were empty, and there were not twelve people between the pulpit and the door of the church. The trustees were all good men, the Cardinal always claimed in his later life, but they were obstinate. It would be unfair to mention their names today when their descendants are staunch

and loyal Catholics. One of them, Patrick Casserly, the educator, whose *Prosody Rules* have proven the stumbling-block to thousands of classical students, boldly said he would never allow a child of his to "bend a knee before an American priest." But he did send his children later to be prepared — and insisted on Father McCloskey preparing them — for First Holy Communion. One of his sons, Eugene Casserly was elected United States Senator from California in 1869, and on the day of his election, sent a telegram to Father McCloskey, then Archbishop of New York: "One whom you prepared for First Communion has today been elected United States Senator. Eugene Casserly."

For six months not one of the parishioners ever called on the young pastor. The trustees put notices in the pulpit for him to read, but he paid no attention to them. He prepared his sermons carefully, studied every spare hour, and kept entirely to himself. During that time the trustees never honored him with any salary. And yet the Cardinal always said it was a very happy period in his life. He kept up his friendship with Dr. Pise, whom he first met as a boy at Emmitsburg, seventeen years before, and dined with him once a week. When his sermons began to attract attention, his enemies among the trustees claimed that Dr. Pise, one of the foremost intellectual lights in the Church at that time, wrote them for him. But by degrees they began to see that they were wrong. Father McCloskey never showed the least anger at the treatment he was receiving. Many unpleasant things were done and said, such as calling him out at midnight

on bogus sick-calls, and once a rather mean trick was played upon his assistant, Father Hardy. Father Hardy always read his sermons. On his Sunday for preaching, the door of his room — the sermon within — was locked by one of the trustees and the key secreted. In consternation he asked Father McCloskey what to do: "Oh! preach Aristotle to them, preach on philosophy," said his pastor, good naturedly alluding to Father Hardy's propensity for Aristotle.

During all this time Father McCloskey never noticed in any way the treatment he received, but gradually the parishioners began to come to hear him. The rectory was practically bare of furniture. The trustees, who refused to pay him any salary during this time, refused also to furnish the house, saying that his mother was able to do so. This, of course, he would never permit. At last, some ladies of the parish took pity on the independent young priest and put his house in order for him. After a year he was the complete master of the situation. One by one, the trustees came to him and humbly asked pardon for the year's persecution to which they had subjected him. He was afterwards heard to assert that he never had stauncher friends than these same men. This incident of his early career in the priesthood is characteristic of his whole life. One who knew him well from boyhood at Emmitsburg has given us the key to this attitude: "He will not fight, but he will conquer."

We are fortunate in still possessing scores of the sermons Father McCloskey prepared during the seven years of his stay at St. Joseph's, for he never actually left the parish, even during his rectorship of St.

John's, Fordham. They are all dated, and in many cases a second and a third date is added, showing that he preached them over again; while numerous corrections in a later handwriting proved that he had not lost sight of them during his days as Bishop of Albany (1847–1864). The earliest of these sermons was that preached on Christmas Day, 1837, at St. Joseph's, at the height of the trustee opposition. There is a lesson in every line — lessons especially of humility, of peace, of subordination to the will of God and to the Church, which, though told in the most kindly way, had, nevertheless, a deeper meaning to his hearers than appears on the surface. His own rejection by those who should have been his firm supporters, the poverty of his own house, and the acceptance of God's will in the trials he was then undergoing gave him a setting for the scene at Bethlehem the first Christmas morning. But it is all done so sweetly and with such ineffable grace that no listener could have taken offence. It is interesting to compare this sermon with the one he preached a year later on Christmas Day, 1838. The spirit of a larger joy pervades his words. He is not talking, as in the previous year, to an audience whose hearts were far removed from him, but to friends conquered and won. It is the victory over sin which he celebrated in his poetic prose. "You, on whom," he says, "have been bestowed with more bounteous hand the good things of this earth, who are blessed with competency or with abundance, who are surrounded by every necessary and perhaps even superfluous comfort, ah! remember how different was the condition of that divine Infant Who came to teach you

as His favorite lesson — Charity — to teach you by the love and sympathy which you owe Him in the poverty of His manger, the love and sympathy you should likewise feel for those whom He leaves among you as His constant representatives, the young, the tender, the helpless innocent and the needy orphans."

Another sermon, preached at St. Joseph's in the Advent of 1838, on *Human Respect*, is remarkable for its vigorous denunciation of this common failing. Something had probably aroused the young pastor. "Piety is not fashionable," he says, "and Catholicity and its practices are, if possible, still less so; and amid the loud unceasing and almost deafening profession of tolerance and liberality by which we are surrounded, there is much unhappily of practical bigotry and intolerance; and while the rights of conscience are proclaimed most sacred and inviolable, there are those, the foremost, perhaps, in their professed zeal to uphold them, who seem to think it but just and holy to tamper with those rights in their Catholic neighbors."

That most infamous of all the libels published in the United States against the Catholic faith, the *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*, was being largely circulated during this period, and it was but a short time before this (1837) that a petition was presented to the United States Senate to deny to Catholics the rights of citizenship, and to exclude them from exercising the franchise unless they renounced their religion. Fortunately for New York and more fortunately still for the Catholic Church in the United States, there had been consecrated in the beginning of the year 1838 (January 7), as Coadjutor of New York, one of

the strongest exponents the Faith has ever had in America, the heroic John Hughes. His stature has grown with the years that have passed since his death (January 3, 1864). "I remember," says Archbishop McCloskey, in his funeral discourse over Hughes in 1864, "how all eyes were fixed, how all eyes were strained to get a glimpse of their newly consecrated bishop; and as they saw that dignified and manly countenance, as they beheld those features beaming with the light of intellect, bearing already upon them the impress of that force of character which peculiarly marked him throughout his life, that firmness of resolution, that unalterable and unbending will, and yet blending at the same time that great benignity and suavity of expression—when they marked the quiet composure and self-possession of every look and every gesture of his whole gait and demeanor — all hearts were drawn and warmed towards him. Every pulse within that vast assembly, both of clergy and laity, was quickened with a higher sense of courage and hope. Every breast was filled with joy, as it were, with a new and younger might."

When Bishop Hughes took over the reins of power in August, 1839, he saw the necessity of a personal appeal to the charity of Europe. On October 16, 1839, he set sail from New York, and in April, 1840, he was in Vienna, seeking aid from the Leopoldine Association, which had already sent in the previous decade considerable alms to the Church in America. He wrote an account of his diocese, dated Vienna, April 16, 1840, for the Association, the original copy of which is still preserved. In this report he speaks

of the project of establishing a seminary. The report concludes with these words:

"The undersigned, Coadjutor Bishop and Administrator of New York is now engaged in an effort to establish a Theological Seminary in the Diocese; and one of the objects of his voyage to Europe is to lay a statement of his situation before your Association to solicit its aid. The foregoing remarks will show how little he can expect from his own people in their present situation. Could he have accomplished his object, without the aid of his brethren in Europe, he certainly would not have undergone the fatigues of so long, not to say dangerous, a journey. He has already contracted for the ground and buildings suitable for the purpose, but he could not venture to occupy them until they shall have been nearly, if not quite paid for; — and for the means to do this, he looks entirely to the charity of the faithful. Should he be so happy as to succeed in this, he has already the offer of worthy and zealous clergymen to take charge of it. Convinced of the absolute necessity of this institution, he begs most respectfully, but at the same time most earnestly to recommend it to the charitable consideration of the Leopoldine Association; and he is persuaded that its members cannot appropriate their charities to a holier object than one which through the medium of a Theological Seminary, will send forth ministers of religion in a country where the 'harvest is so great and the laborers so few.' When these ministers, in future times, shall stand before the Altar offering up the Lamb of God in the holy sacrifice —

surely their benefactors will not be forgotten in the oblation."

Bishop Hughes had already made considerable progress towards the attainment of this worthy end before he left New York. In 1838, he purchased from the father of an eminent artist, John Lafarge, a fine property, of almost five hundred acres, called Lafargeville, near the Thousand Islands. This site was thought to be an ideal one, and on September 20, 1838, a seminary was opened in the Lafarge mansion, which had been erected by the former owner at the cost of thirty thousand dollars. St. Vincent de Paul's Seminary, as it was called, proved to be too far away from the main centres of population to be easy of access to prospective students. In July, 1839, after his return to New York, Bishop Hughes purchased Rose Hill Manor at Fordham. The estate consisted of an unfinished stone house and an old frame farm house, which had been in its day a fashionable mansion. The place was hallowed ground. Washington had occupied the site on the eve of the battle of White Plains in 1776, and a mound of earth marking the resting-place of those killed in the battle, was a conspicuous spot on the north side of the farm.

"Rose Hill was bought for about $30,000. To fit the buildings for the reception of students would cost, it was supposed, $10,000 more. To meet these demands the bishop had, of course, not a penny; but he concluded the bargain, and immediately opened subscriptions throughout the diocese. A large part of the money was obtained in this way. A considerable

sum was collected in Europe, and the balance was finally raised by loans in small amounts, for which interest was paid at the rate of five per cent. On the 14th of October, he published a pastoral letter, in which he strongly commended the new institution to the liberality of his people, and at the same time announced that Bishop Dubois had resigned the administration of the diocese, in consequence of his great age and feeble health. Having passed through more than half a century of apostolic labor and boundless as well as untiring zeal, he was entitled, at the age of seventy-six years, and it was natural for him to seek the privilege of repose, by leaving to younger energies to take up the burden which he had so long and so zealously sustained."

In a Pastoral issued February 10, 1849, Bishop Hughes tells the story of these days of struggling:

"When we were charged, by the supreme authority of the Church, with the administration of the Diocese of New York, in 1839, the number of clergymen in the mission was between forty and fifty. There was not at that time, either a seminary for the education of candidates for the holy ministry, or a college, or a religious house of education for the youth, male or female, of our growing population. Without some, at least of these, it seemed to us that the existence of religion was precarious; for want of clergymen, its diffusion and development impossible. Under this conviction an ecclesiastical seminary was commenced in the northern part of the diocese, which has continued until the present time. The location, however, was found to be

too remote from the city, and the seminarians with their teachers were transferred, in the autumn of 1841, to St. John's College, at Fordham, where it has continued either in one building or another of that establishment, until it has taken possession of the building lately erected expressly for its permanent use.

"It was also at the close of the year 1839, that what is now St. John's College, with its premises, was purchased. It consisted then, as to buildings, of the single main edifice and two wings, roofed, but interiorly not half finished. The contributions received from the diocese for the accomplishment of this undertaking scarcely amounted to thirteen thousand dollars, a sum less than one-eighth of what has been expended on it up to the present time, in the way of improvements of the grounds, domestic furniture, collegiate appurtenances and additional buildings. In this estimate of its cost, must of course be included the expense of supporting it during the first years of its probation, while its pupils were hardly more numerous than the teachers and professors provided for their instruction.

"It was, in part, by expenditures like these, that in five short years St. John's College rose, from the condition of an unfinished house in a field, to the cluster of buildings of which it is now composed; and from an obscure Catholic school, beginning with six students, to the rank and privileges of a university! What was our object, dearly beloved brethren, in this undertaking? It was, that the Catholic parents of this diocese and elsewhere, who could afford it, should have an opportunity of educating their sons with safety to their faith and morals, and yet so as to qualify

them to take an honorable part in the more elevated walks of public and social life."

One of the buildings was opened in September, 1840, as St. Joseph's Seminary, under the charge of the Vincentian Fathers, with the Rev. Dr. Felix Vilanis, as director. The second building was formally opened on June 24, 1841, as the preparatory College of St. John, with Father John McCloskey as president. Father David Bacon was recalled from Belleville, N. J., where he was pastor, and placed in charge of St. Joseph's parish.

Father McCloskey kept constantly in touch with St. Joseph's, during his presidency of St. John's College. One incident of note occurred during his year as president. Some thirty years after the date we are treating, John McCloskey stood in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, dressed in the red robes of a Cardinal of the Church. It was an historic moment. America was about to receive her first Cardinal, and all eyes were turned towards the venerable figure of Archbishop James Roosevelt Bayley, of Baltimore, when as Apostolic Delegate he ascended the steps of the altar to impose the Cardinal's biretta on John McCloskey. Archbishop Bayley was then over sixty years old, and his memory could not help carrying him back to those rare hours, some thirty years before, when he walked with the young president of St. John's, among the elms at Fordham, trying to settle the problem which had already come to Newman and Manning and Ward.

James Roosevelt Bayley was the descendant of a long line of notable ancestors both of England and of

Holland. He was the grandson of Dr. Richard Bayley, the patriot of Revolutionary days, and the nephew of Elizabeth Ann Bayley who possesses an honor all her own in American Church history as Mother Seton, the foundress of the Sisters of Charity in the United States. He was about the same age as John McCloskey, having been born at Rye, New York, on August 23, 1814. At the time he met Father McCloskey, he was the pastor of St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church, in Harlem. The two clergymen became fast friends, and Rev. Mr. Bayley often visited St. Joseph's rectory and later the college at Fordham, in order to argue doctrinal questions, especially the validity of his Orders with his friend. They would discuss for hours at a time the diferences in their religious beliefs, and Father McCloskey saw that Mr. Bayley was on the verge of becoming a Catholic, but that he hesitated to take the step. "I am convinced," he said one day, "but when I come to make the change, I grow cowardly."

Once as they walked towards the gate, on being questioned about his hesitancy when he knew his duty, Mr. Bayley stopped Father McCloskey and by way of illustrating his mental state, pointing to a wide ditch that flanked the grounds, said: "My condition is this: I could, I know, jump that ditch, wide as it is; but I would not attempt it unless hard pressed. I have not the courage now." The moral and intellectual pressure of his conviction, however, grew too strong to be suppressed any longer; he resigned his living at St. Peter's in 1841, went to Rome, where his conversion was completed and was received into the Church on April 28, 1842, being baptized by Father Esmonde, S.J., in the

room of St. Ignatius. He entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris, returned to New York, and was ordained by Bishop Hughes on March 2, 1844. He was then made vice-president of St. John's College, Fordham.

Father McCloskey was no longer president of the college, when James Bayley returned, for when New Year's of 1842, had passed, it became evident that his health would not stand the strain of his incessant duties as president and professor. In February, he returned to St. Joseph's. The Rev. Dr. Ambrose Manahan, vice-president and professor of Greek and mathematics succeeded him. There is preserved among his papers an address given in his honor in February, 1842, which proves the affectionate place he held in the hearts of his students. The following letter accompanied it:

Rose Hill, Westchester County, N. Y.

February 15, 1842

Reverend and Revered Sir,

We, the Seminarians of St. John's College, respectfully take leave to intimate to you the deep regret we feel at your departure from amongst us. This we do, not because custom requires it, but because we cannot refrain from the expression of our heartfelt esteem and love towards you: esteem, for the talents and virtues which distinguish you, and love, for the use you have made of these qualities in our behalf.

We can never forget the apposite and salutary precepts by which you, Reverend Sir, have unwearily instructed us in things appertaining to our vocation:

nor can we ever cease to admire their bright exemplification in your own unvarying demeanor.

If there be anything that may alleviate our regret at this separation, it is the hope we cherish that we, retaining a place in your affections, shall in future intercourse enjoy frequent opportunities of benefitting still further by your learning and piety.

But we have too accurate a conception of your sensibilities to persist in expatiating upon your merits; and, having signified our sorrow on this occasion, we are content to unite in one ardent prayer that happiness here may be commensurate with your desire, and be as a sign of that perfection of happiness, which, we trust and believe, will await you hereafter.

Accept, therefore, Reverend Sir, this respectful Address — feeble, we are aware, in expressing the fulness of what we desire you to understand; yet not so defective, we would hope, as to indicate less of gratitude than of esteem.

Anthony Farley, Francis Donohoe, Sylvester Malone, Matthew Higgins, John O'Reilly, Patrick Kenny, Thomas Quinn, James Hourigon, Thomas McEvoy, Thomas D. O'Connor, Wm. Quinn, William McClellan, William O'Reilly, John Gillick, Francis Corr, Dennis J. Wheelehan, John Murphy.

To the Reverend John McCloskey

ADDRESS

Reverend and Respected Sir

On the eve of your departure from amongst us, we beg leave to tender to you this expression of our

feeling sense, as Seminarians, of our regret, at the severing of those links, which have hitherto united us.

Unexpected to many of us as was the intelligence of this event, so much the more sudden and vivid even the emotions of sorrow it gave birth to, and even to those who had accustomed themselves to look upon it as a contingency, or an occurence likely to take place, the nearer approach of that bereavement was felt the more keenly, when the conviction of the reality was forced upon our minds.

Allow us to manifest to you, flowing from the heart, the sentiments of esteem, reverence, and love, which we have ever entertained towards your person. We have been for some time, at once the witnesses of your assiduous exertions to promote our advancement in knowledge; and at the same time the beneficiaries of those toils. The possessor of much learning, your acquirements have never been ostentatiously displayed; but as a Christian, and yet more a Christian pastor, you have shrouded in the mantle of humility those qualities, to which the world gladly renders homage. We do not presume hereby to constitute ourselves as judges, conscious that we are yet but aspirants to literary honor; but simply re-echo sentiments, of which the universal conviction is the surest guarantee of their truth.

We also return you our fervent thanks for the kindness with which you have cherished the interests more immediately appertaining to our calling: our hearts are filled with gratitude for its display in our regard, and if in aught we have seemed at any time not duly to correspond to it, we trust it may be leniently imputed to that want of reflection incident to youth.

We will not pass over in silence, at what a sacrifice to health, and with how great personal inconvenience, you consented to occupy the place of our instructor; that only a strong sense of paramount duty, and zeal for the interests of religion sustained you in its arduous discharge. Your disinterestedness in so long continuing to fill a station, undertaken with a foresight of the difficulties to be encountered, and void of the prospect of any advancement to a reputation already firmly established, and your modest and retiring demeanor, will not be soon erased from our memory. If the Institution, over which you have presided, be now in a prosperous condition, and augur well of the future; or hereafter shall realize that eminence at present shadowed forth, it will be remembered whose fostering hand gave it its first and onward impulse.

Obedient to the call of duty, you have conceived yourself required to withdraw from us, and the period of that separation has at length arrived. Reluctantly we exchange with you our farewell, as our instructor and immediate pastor, though not as our friend. We cannot be so selfish or unreasonable as to expect, that those talents calculated for a wider sphere, and more extended usefulness, should be limited in their field of influence, by being ever exclusively devoted to our service. We must indeed be estranged by distance, yet the memory of our indebtedness will live. We shall still entertain the hope, that we may yet be permitted to intermingle together, and at intervals to revive that intimacy and pleasing communion, which it hitherto has been our lot to enjoy.

As an evidence of our gratitude, accept all that we

can offer worthy of your acceptance, our best wishes for your future happiness. May your walk through life be tranquil and serene, chequered by no strange vicissitudes; and your virtues be as generally appreciated, as they are intrinsically deserving of praise. But as earthly glory is at best but vain and transitory, and unheeded and unsought by the soul which labors from a higher and a better motive, the consciousness of duty, we pray that you may obtain a more lasting reward. May the approving smiles of heaven be poured out upon your labors; and throughout this vale of tears may you enjoy the content of an approving conscience: honored in life, and resigned in death, may you at last attain to the rest prepared for the Blessed.

W. McDonnell
W. McClellan
Committee

In April, 1842, Bishop Hughes appointed him to his old post as pastor of St. Joseph's, and among the sermons still preserved in the original are a series beginning about this time and running down to his appointment as Coadjutor-Bishop of New York in 1844. Some months after the death of Bishop Dubois, December 25, 1842, Bishop Hughes applied to Pope Gregory XVI for an assistant for his ever-growing diocese. The question had also been broached by Bishop Hughes at the Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore, in May, 1843, and the Fathers of the Council recommended Father McCloskey for that post. The Bull of his appointment as Bishop of Axiern, *in partibus infidelium*, signed by Cardinal Lambruschini, is dated Rome, November 21, 1843.

CHAPTER V

THE COADJUTOR BISHOP OF NEW YORK (1844–1847)

Consecration of Bishop McCloskey at Old St. Patrick's. His Attitude during the Native-American Movement. His Conciliatory Spirit. The Seminary at Fordham. Bishop McCloskey and the American Oxford Movement. Conversion of Isaac Hecker, Clarence Walworth and James McMaster. Bishop McCloskey's Attitude towards Converts. New Dioceses of Albany and Buffalo (1847). Bishop McCloskey Becomes First Bishop of Albany. Diocese of Albany in 1847.

THE day set aside for the consecration of the young Coadjutor was his thirty-fourth birthday, March 10, 1844. Within the walls of St. Patrick's, three new prelates were that day added to the American hierarchy. They were Bishop McCloskey, Bishop Andrew Byrne, of Little Rock, and Bishop William Quarter, of Chicago. The three consecrating bishops were Bishop Hughes, Bishop Benedict Fenwick, of Boston, and Bishop Whelan of Richmond. The assistant priest was the famous Cuban patriot, Father Felix Varela. The ceremony excited no little interest among the Protestants of the city, and it is estimated that between seven and eight thousand people assembled in and around the cathedral to witness the magnificence of the ceremonies. The sanctuary of the

cathedral with the three altars, and with the attending ecclesiastics afforded a beautiful sight. It was a striking proof of the growth of the Church in the twenty-five years preceeding, that seventy priests were able to be present without depriving their flocks of Sunday Mass. Both the bishops consecrated that morning with him had been his fellow-students at Mount St. Mary's. Bishop Hughes had been his teacher there also, and one of the consecrating bishops, Bishop Whelan of Richmond, Va., had also been his comrade at Emmitsburg. The preacher on this occasion was his friend from boyhood — the Vicar-General, Dr. Power.

To the superficial observer of a life so quietly passed in the service of God as that of Cardinal McCloskey, it would seem in reality that it was almost devoid of incident; that it was a life hidden within the Tabernacle with the Lord to Whom it had been consecrated; and that he himself, instead of being a leader in the stirring incidents of these first three years of his episcopate, was rather guided by the current of events which swept through the New York diocese at this time. But, that he was observant of every detail of the crises which came upon the Church is evident from his letters and from the part he played in all the great movements of these years. He took no public part in the crisis brought on by the Native-American Movement of 1844, or in the excitement caused later by the Church Property Bill; but he was by no means a silent spectator during these years when the Church was almost at the mercy of a band of fanatical politicians. More and more the strong mind of John Hughes began

to depend upon his quiet and far-seeing coadjutor and suffragan. There was indeed a marked difference between him and Bishop Hughes whose coadjutor he was during these years. John Hughes possessed a character of the most dominant kind. He was, as one of his biographers has described him, a man of grit, of courage, of talent, and perseverance. He rose by sheer strength of character and natural genius from the lowest to the highest rank. Once he had formed a purpose, he would never cease till he had realized it, and had he not become a priest, there was material in him to make a great general, a great lawyer, a great politician, or a great statesman. He was a man no one could sincerely hate. Even those who feared him, admired him. The contrast between him and his coadjutor was a marked one. John McCloskey was a man who not only never sought prominence, but deliberately avoided it. His modesty was of a kind that might often be misunderstood for timidity, but as we look back through the years since his death and see the results of his long years in the episcopate, the hand of God is visible in raising up this gentle and loving prelate as the auxiliary and successor to the great Archbishop of New York.

It is not generally known nowadays that Bishop John Hughes, in spite of the fame which had preceded him from Philadelphia, was not very welcome to New York. Father Thébaud's *Recollections* tell us that when he was appointed in 1837, the clergy of New York, particularly of the city, were loud in their discontent about the choice which had been made. No one held the hearts of the people as did Doctor

Power, the Vicar-General of Bishop Dubois; and the opposition to Bishop Hughes was so apparent that very few priests were present at his consecration in 1838. This opposition was somewhat allayed by the appointment of John McCloskey in 1844, but even in 1846 it is undeniable that many of the Catholic pastors of New York were openly arrayed in opposition to Bishop Hughes. We may without exaggeration see in the general breaking down of this prejudice not only Bishop Hughes' consummate prudence and tact but also the charm of Bishop McCloskey's influence. Cardinal Gibbons has given us in his *Retrospect of Fifty Years* a pen picture of the two prelates: "These two churchmen," he writes, "had each his predominent traits of character: McCloskey, meek, gentle, retiring from the world, reminds us of Moses with uplifted hands, praying on the mountain; Hughes, active, bold, vigorous, aggressive, was like Josua, fighting in the valley, armed with the Christian panoply of faith, truth and justice."

It is natural, therefore, to look for the record of John McCloskey's deeds within the silent enclosure of the Fold, within that sphere where the history of the growth of faith and religion can be seen, rather than in the larger world of men and politics, in which John Hughes was to figure so predominantly between the years 1844 and 1864. And first among these facts which history has preserved is Bishop McCloskey's activity in the work of clerical education. He had been instrumental in starting the first seminary at Nyack under Bishop Dubois, and had been its first vice-president. His years of study and of travel in Europe

had been spent with the view of preparing himself to direct the new seminary which Bishop Hughes later established at Fordham; and shortly after his return, he had accepted the post of president of St. John's College, the preparatory school of St. Joseph's Seminary there. The seminary at Fordham had been confided to the charge of the Vincentian Fathers, and the first president, Father Villanis, C.M., was succeeded by Father Anthony Penco, C.M., in whose time the seminary numbered thirty-one students of theology. In 1844, according to some notes left by Bishop McQuaid of Rochester, who was a student at St. Joseph's at that time, the student-body and the faculty left Fordham and came to a building near the present site of the Cathedral, where they remained for one school term, and then returned to Fordham.

Bishop McQuaid does not explain the reason for this migration, but it was due possibly to the fact that a new seminary building was in course of erection during that year. The cornerstone of the new seminary was laid on April 3, 1845, and Bishop McCloskey presided on that occasion. We have the records of his visitation of the diocese for the years 1844–47, and his notes on the *Ordo* he carried with him, are filled with historical dates for the subject. Everywhere he went, he brought to the notice of the priests and people the necessity of supporting the seminary and the answer to his appeal is visible in the rapid growth of the seminary from this time.

In 1846, the seminary and college were placed in the hands of the Jesuit Fathers who directed it for the next ten years. The first president of the seminary was the

well-known scholar, Father Augustus Thébaud, S.J., whose *Forty Years in the United States of America* is among the most valuable memoirs we possess. It was the intention of Bishop Hughes to make his seminary a provincial house of study for the whole of New York and New England. The See of New York, erected in 1808, was, in a certain sense, acknowledged as the centre of the Church in New York, New Jersey (East Jersey) and New England; and when it was erected into an archdiocese on July 19, 1850, the province of New York meant officially this same territory. Hartford had been separated from Boston in 1843, with the Right Reverend William Tyler as its first bishop, and Albany and Buffalo were separated from New York in 1847. To these were added in 1853, Brooklyn, Newark, and Burlington. New York, therefore, remained chief among these different Sees down to 1875, when Boston was created an archdiocese.

The plan of Bishop Hughes was to centre at Fordham the entire ecclesiastical seminary training for this territory, and he seems to have left the matter of approaching the other bishops to his coadjutor. We have a letter from Bishop Tyler, of Hartford, which tells us of this plan:

PROVIDENCE, *Nov.* 24, 1845

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

I received a few days since a letter from your coadjutor, Rt. Rev. Bp. McCloskey, stating that the buildings of your Theological Seminary are nearly completed, that you are about to take measures for supplying it with competent professors, and that it has occurred to you that it would be desirable for two or three of

the neighboring bishops to unite with you and adopt that as a common seminary. The want of funds will prevent me from entering into such an arrangement at present, but at a future time it may be very desirable for this diocese.

I have now only four candidates preparing for the priesthood. None of them pay for themselves, and I have to get them along with as little expense as possible. I hope however, to see the day when we shall not be so limited in means.

I remain sincerely,

Your brother in Xt.,

✠ Wm. Tyler, Bp. of H.

To Rt. Rev. Dr. Hughes, Bishop of New York.

The plan, as is well known, did not materialize until 1862, when St. Joseph's Provincial Seminary at Troy was founded.

Another interesting chapter of church life during these years of Bishop McCloskey's coadjutorship, is the part he was destined to take in the American Oxford Movement. He received Father Isaac Hecker and his brother George into the Church. McMaster when fully convinced, came to Bishop McCloskey and asked to receive the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist, without making any formal renunciation or profession of Faith. But such a compromise was not possible. McMaster was afterwards received into the Church by Father Rumpler, C.SS.R. The Tractarian Movement in England, which has made the name of Cardinal Newman a household word in Catholic circles in the New World, had an almost

disastrous effect upon the proud and exclusive Protestant Episcopal Church of America. It is unnecessary to mention the scandals which made that religious body a byword in the newspapers of the time. The situation in America was not unlike that in England. Many men began to feel that Protestantism was lacking in that permanent attractiveness which would hold them, and among these was Isaac Hecker, who was destined to become the Founder of the Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle, — the Paulists, as they are usually designated.

The story — in itself an epoch-making book in American Catholic history — of Isaac Hecker's conversion, as told by Father Walter Elliott, C.S.P., contains the best account of these spiritual trials under which many Americans were then laboring.

Isaac Hecker's doubts and perplexities left him completely the day he presented himself to Bishop McCloskey, June 25, 1844. "The acquaintance then begun," says his biographer, "which on the bishop's part soon took the form of a discerning and wise devotion, eventually deepened into a life-long friendship."

Isaac Hecker's *Diary* tells of his visits to the Bishop:

"New York, *June* 25, 1844. — This morning I went to see Bishop McCloskey. I found him a man of fine character, mild disposition, and of a broader education than any of the Catholics I have had the pleasure of meeting. He was acquainted with Brownson's writings and Emerson's, and personally knew Mr. Channing, whom he had met at Rome. He loaned me some books on matters pertaining to the Church. He is to

be gone for a fortnight from New York, and I am to wait until he comes back before I take any further steps towards being united with the Church."

Bishop McCloskey was absent during the rest of June and part of July, 1844, on a visitation of the diocese. After his return, it was decided that the young catechumen — he was then thirty-four years old — had very little need of further instruction, and within a fortnight Isaac Hecker was baptized conditionally (August 1, 1844), a short two months before the conversion of Brownson by Bishop McCloskey's life-long friend, Bishop Fitzpatrick, of Boston. Thus was begun a spiritual relationship between the future Cardinal and one of the greatest of modern American missionaries. Bishop McCloskey's insight into character was proverbial, even at that early day, and his wisdom in differing with Brownson, who wished Hecker to devote himself to the Germans in this country, as also with Bishop Hughes, who advised Hecker to go to Saint Sulpice and study for the secular priesthood, was fully justified by later events. Bishop McCloskey told the young convert that his life would lead him to contemplation and urged him to go abroad to try his vocation in one of the religious orders. Sometime after his reception into the Church, Hecker opened his mind more fully to Bishop McCloskey, who was acting as his spiritual director, on the question of his vocation. The Bishop sent him to the seminary at Fordham in order to make his plans known to the professors there. Eventually, through his love for the Redemptorists, he became convinced that he ought

to join that Order. No doubt the fact that two other recent converts — Clarence Walworth, the son of the Chancellor of the State of New York, and James McMaster, who later became editor of the *Freeman's Journal* — had applied for admission into the Redemptorists, influenced his action in this regard. The three converts sailed for Belgium in July, 1845. On October 15, 1846 — McMaster had given up and had returned in September — Hecker and Walworth made their vows and became members of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. A letter to Bishop McCloskey on that day, tells of Hecker's joy, and it is printed here for the first time:

Rt. Rev. and dear Father In God:

I have taken with the grace of God the holy vows of our blessed religion this day. This is but another step in fulfilling the promises I made at the holy Altar of my baptism. It seems to me to flow naturally, from that life which the grace of God working upon my heart, had inclined me for years past. I have passed my novitiate without any doubt or temptations against my vocation as a religious, and during this time our Lord has blessed me with much and many graces. In a word my path is clear before me, my duty is to renounce entirely the world, the flesh and the devil, in order to be united to God. The simple motive of my life has been, for years past, to attain the most intimate and perfect union with God that is possible. I see in this desire the work of the grace of God, for He alone is its object and beatitude, and no other love but this infinite and divine love can satisfy it. This

desire has made me leave all that I have left for our Lord, and continues to give me a great joy in consummating this entire abnegation which His perfect love demands. Indeed I am ashamed to say that I have left anything for the love of God, for all true gain consists in obtaining it. It wins, it embraces the soul, and finally inebriates the soul with a love so intimate, so subtile and sweet, that the soul neither knows how nor can resist. It has a wonderful familiarity with the heart, making itself one with the heart, and the heart one with it, and all else seem strange, unsatisfactory and insipid. Thus my sole desire is to make all events whatever subserve to the perfection of this union, and uninterrupted and unconstrained intercourse of the soul with its God. And this being the primary end of the discipline of a religious order, you can easily imagine, Rt. Rev. Father, how happy and content I am in being here, and how grateful I feel towards God, and those who have been the means in His providence, in aiding me thus far in accomplishing His divine and loving will.

To-morrow I expect to go with eight brothers with whom I have taken the vows, to the place of study at Wittem, in Holland, about fifty miles from here. Perhaps it is not simply for the salvation and sanctification of my soul that our Blessed Lord has bestowed upon me so many favors over my friends and fellow countrymen, and should it be His will, it would be my greatest delight to be with His grace and in His time, an aid to you, Rt. Rev. Father, in converting our country to the Holy Church of our Lord and the honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Br. Walworth begs to be kindly remembered to you.

Please remember us both to our Rt. Rev. Father, Bishop Hughes, as most sincerely attached children, who desire a place always in his remembrance.

With sentiments of the highest reverence and affection and desiring your paternal benediction, I am, Your faithful Son,

Isaac Hecker

St. Trond, *Oct.* 15, 1846.

Six years were to pass before his return to New York (1851); and, though the old friendship with Bishop McCloskey still remained, it was not until 1864, when the bishop came to New York as its second archbishop, that Father Hecker, then at the head of the Paulists, found how staunchly John McCloskey had supported him in the work in which he was then engaged.

Another conversion which attracted much attention at this time was that of Mr. Pierce Connelly, of Philadelphia. He writes to Bishop McCloskey as follows:

Rome, Collegio dei Nobili
Whitsunday, 1844

Dear Bishop McCloskey:

I do not wish to congratulate you; if I wrote to congratulate anybody, it would be Bishop Hughes. So you may congratulate him for me and from the bottom of my heart.

I need not tell you how great a disappointment it was both to Mrs. Connelly and myself not to have seen you when we passed through New York, or what a consolation it would have been to me during our travels together to have told you our secret — but I had no permission to do so; as it was, what a delight

it was to have you with us so long. You are not surprised now if you found me a little sad in the spring of '42, when I was bringing my little boy to England. It was in truth on the same errand I was coming then and I did not know when or if ever I should again see my blessed little wife whom Our Lord had so long asked me for Himself. Blessed be His name forever. It pleased Him to order it all very sweetly. She entered the Convent at Trinità dei Monti on Easter Monday — the next day I received tonsure in the same little chapel where 8 years before you saw me make my abjuration and on the first day of May (in honor of Our Blessed Lady) the kind Cardinal Vicar gave me all four of the minor orders at the Trinità. The Holy Father took the most affectionate interest in the matter and you know perhaps that the youngest boy has permission with his nurse or governess as she will be (a very nice little person of a respectable family turned out of her family for embracing the faith) to remain near his mother until he is 7 or 8 years old: he is in a large cottage in the convent garden and Mrs. Connelly sleeps in the room next to him. I do not know if you have heard of the conversion of Mrs. Duval, Mrs. Connelly's sister? I trust that it will be followed by that of others of her family before long. Remember me humbly and affectionately to the Bishop and to Madam Hardy, and do not let them or yourself forget us all in your holy prayers. We have need of them.

Ever dear Bishop, most affectionately,

Your faithful and humble
Son and Servant,
Pierce Connelly

Cardinal McCloskey's attitude towards converts was not unlike that of Cardinal Manning. He held that ecclesiastical authorities ought to be slow to admit them into the Church, and then only after a period of thorough instruction. He never liked to see them come in "crowds," as he once said; and he had the born Catholic's fear of the reforming element so strong sometimes in the newly converted. Not that he condemned such a spirit, but the danger was always present of their forming new schools and tendencies. Before entering the Church, converts considered her only in the abstract — as her doctrine should make her. But on entering the Church, he said, they usually find many individual shortcomings and abuses. Contrasts are apparent between the social status of the group they have left and that which they have entered. Consequently a desire to bring Catholics around to this status. In the sunlight of their new-born faith, said the Cardinal, all defects become glaring. It was in this way he explained to a certain extent Manning's well-known attitude towards Newman.

At the Sixth Provincial Council of Baltimore, in May, 1846, Bishop Hughes spoke to the prelates present of the wonderful growth of his diocese, and they readily acceded to his request to divide the diocese of New York into three separate bishoprics. In 1837, when he became coadjutor to Bishop Dubois, the Church in New York consisted of twenty-three priests. In 1846, there were one hundred and fourteen churches, one hundred and nine priests, a diocesan seminary and a Catholic college. On April 23, 1847, Pius IX erected Albany and Buffalo into separate

Sees, and Bishop McCloskey was transferred to Albany where he was solemnly installed by Bishop Hughes on September 19, 1847.

The Board of Trustees of St. Patrick's Cathedral passed the following resolutions on September 6, 1847:

BOARD OF ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL

6th September, 1847

Whereas this Board have learned that the Holy See has been pleased to appoint the late coadjutor of New York, the Right Revd. John McCloskey to the new episcopal See of Albany; and whereas he is thus charged with a large portion of the burden which has hitherto rested on the bishop of New York alone; and whereas the organization of the new diocese will be attended with much expense; and whereas in consideration of the great services rendered to this congregation of the Cathedral, and to the Catholics of New York at large, we hold it a duty not less real than it is agreeable to our feelings, to offer some testimonial to him. Therefore, resolved, that the treasurer of this Board be directed to present for acceptance to the Right Revd. John McCloskey the sum of eight hundred dollars as a testimonial of the services which he has rendered to our holy religion and of the feelings of respect and veneration which we entertain for him as well as of the ardent wishes of our heart that God will bless and prosper his labors in the larger and more responsible sphere in which by the appointment of the Holy See he is now called to discharge the high functions of his episcopacy.

Resolved that a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolution be at the same time furnished the Right Reverend Bishop of Albany.

B. O'Connor, *Sec'y.*

Cardinal McCloskey was at this time in his thirty-seventh year, — a tall, slender, and graceful figure, with a constitution that had always been frail and delicate, yet strange to say full of unsuspected endurance and vitality. As one who knew him well has written: "His mental and physical temperament is most distinctly characterized as one of equilibrium, balanced adjustment and tranquility, not, however, at all phlegmatic, but on the contrary marked by alertness of movement and gaiety of disposition. His intellectual faculties were symmetrically developed and cultivated." It was a remarkable thing in those days for so young a priest to have been selected as coadjutor of so important a See as that of New York, and the choice of the Holy See in transferring him to Albany proves that his worth was known in Rome of that day. It was but ten years before this time that he was the centre of an accomplished circle of friends in Rome, all of whom found in him the scholar and the saint. "He had been innocent and pious in his boyhood," wrote Father Hewitt at the time of the Cardinal's death, "had probably preserved the first grace of baptism, had been consecrated from his youth to the special service of God, and had gone on in one unswerving, undeviating course of fidelity to conscience and the inspirations of the Divine Spirit." No one who ever met him, either as priest, prelate, or Cardinal,

ever forgot the peace and tranquility of soul which shone from his eyes; and the influence he exercised over his own priests and people was even more strikingly noticeable over non-Catholics.

Albany needed just such a prelate. As the capital of the State, learning and culture would be quickly appreciated, and as the home of the legislating body of New York, the mildness and tenderness of his manner were qualities which would rob those not of his faith of any suspicion of interference in political affairs. Interfere he did on one occasion, when justice demanded it, but so highly was he esteemed by all the State officials that his mere exposition of the wrong about to be done to his people was sufficient to change their attitude.

The newly-created Diocese of Albany comprised about twenty-three counties in the State of New York, covering a territory of over thirty thousand square miles, more than two-thirds of the total area of the State. In that vast section which is now divided into four dioceses, there were in 1847, about twenty-five churches and thirty-four priests. There were no Catholic institutions except two orphan asylums, one at Albany and the other at Utica, and two free schools, at Utica and East Troy. The work on the Erie Canal which took all of eight years to complete, from 1817 to 1825, and the establishment of the railroad system of New York between 1831 and 1852, brought thousands of Irish immigrants to New York.

Archbishop Hughes had pointed out, in his own clear way, to the Leopoldine Association in 1840, that a phenominal growth was then visible and that it would

be even more accentuated in the immediate future. The "cry for priests from almost every quarter" to which Archbishop Hughes had tried to respond, grew more insistent during what might be called the Famine Years of Irish immigration into the United States.

It was during this period of his life that Bishop McCloskey lost his mother, who died on March 26, 1845, and was buried in old St. Patrick's Churchyard in Mulberry Street. The family plot has a monument six feet high surmounted with a cross. Besides his parents, two of the Cardinal's sisters are buried there, Elizabeth, who died in 1835, and Mary who died in 1854.

CHAPTER VI

FIRST BISHOP OF ALBANY (1847–1864)

In His New Field of Labor. Trustee Evil in New York. Bishop McCloskey's Letter to the Trustees of Oswego. His First Sermon in Albany. The Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception. Leaves for Europe to Secure Help. The Church Property Bill Passes the New York Legislature. Apostasy of John Murray Forbes. Death of Archbishop Hughes. The Succession to New York. The Holy See Chooses the Bishop of Albany. Declines Public Dinner in His Honor. Address of the Clergy. Departure for New York.

WHEN Bishop McCloskey reached Albany, in September, 1847, he faced a situation almost as critical as the one he had relinquished in New York. The churches that had been built by the zeal of the pioneer priests and people, were all largely in debt. The people were contributing liberally according to their means but they were poor and just commencing life anew in a strange country, and struggling to sustain their families. The consequence was, as Archbishop Hughes pithily puts it: "What should belong to the present and the future, is already mortgaged to the past!" There was also a legacy of trouble dating from the worst period of trusteeism. A quarrel had broken out in 1844 between Father Joseph Schneller, of St. Mary's Church,

Albany, which Bishop McCloskey had chosen for his Cathedral, and the trustees of that parish. Bishop Hughes' answer to a letter sent to him by the trustees on January 6, 1844, leaves no room for doubt as to that prelate's position: "It is enough for me to express in brief terms my decided opinion — that sooner or later the trustee system as it has existed, will destroy or will be destroyed by the Catholic religion." A similar difficulty was in existence in Oswego, and we have so many letters of Bishop Hughes on the subject of trusteeism that it may be interesting to read a similar letter from Cardinal McCloskey, written from New York, January 30, 1847, some nine months before he was installed in Albany:

New York, *Jan'y 30th*, 1847

Dear Sir:

Bishop Hughes acknowledges the receipt of your letter dated 21st. inst., and requests me to give you the following reply — In the first place you seem to think he has not investigated the unhappy state of things in Oswego. In this you labor under a serious mistake. He has carefully read all the letters which have been written, and listened to a faithful report of all the statements which have been made on both sides. He himself wrote a letter to Rev. Mr. Kenny directing and advising him; he wrote also a letter to the congregation, which was read by Rev. Mr. Kenny from the altar, the tenor of which you can hardly have forgotten. All this failing to produce the effect desired, he sent me to Oswego, giving me all necessary instructions how to act as in his name and for himself.

I confined myself as closely as I could to his directions. The arrangements we then entered into, if they had been adhered to, would have fully restored harmony and peace. But you would not abandon the suit; you appealed to the bishop — he decided — you were not satisfied with his decision — and you appealed again to the Vice-Chancellor. You set aside the authority of the church, and placed above it the authority of the law. You rejected the advice of your bishop, you slighted his admonitions, you put at defiance his commands, you set yourself up together with others in open rebellion against the rules of your Church, and now you ask whether the bishop has any charge against you, or whether you have ever done anything contrary to his wishes. You have been strangely deluded, my dear Sir, if you were not aware that for several months past you have been almost continually opposing his wishes. A more aggravated case than that of Oswego you can hardly point to. Trustees in many places have been set aside even more unceremoniously than you were, their feelings much hurt and offended, yet they never went so far as to forget that they were Catholics, or called in the interference of a civil tribunal to protect them, and to impose heavy costs and fines upon their fellow-Catholics, and even their lawfully appointed pastor. All this you have done — and it is this which has provoked the hard language of which you complain. If Rev. Mr. Kenny had spoken as you represent, Bp. Hughes is very far from authorizing or approving such sort of severity. But so long as you persist in your present very unwise and imprudent course,

consulting your lawyer first, and your bishop afterwards, and seeming to desire to drive away your clergyman by vexatious suits and legal fines, no effectual remedy can be applied to the evils of which you so bitterly complain. Your prejudices and resentment against Mr. Kenny lead you astray. You think he wishes to injure you in your property and character, whereas, he only wants to lead you back to your rightful obedience as a Catholic. If he is imprudent in his attempts at doing so, it is to be deplored, but you yourself by taking the authority into your own hands, defeat the very purpose you have in view. The course which you and your associates have pursued, and which you seem determined to persevere in, is wholly at variance with the discipline of the Catholic church, and with your duties as professing to be members of that Church, and believe me, my dear Sir, unless you listen to the teachings of our holy faith, and submit in obedience to the laws of your Church, you will only be daily invoking upon your head fresh calamities.

Bishop Hughes asks you to pause before you implicate yourself in a new suit. The law may prove you to be an honest man and a peaceable citizen — that I have no doubt you are — but the law cannot and does not interfere with your character as a Catholic, — or with the duties which you owe your Church. It may procure for you satisfaction in money, but be assured it will only plunge you into new difficulties. The day will come when you will bitterly regret having preferred the counsel of your lawyer to that of your bishop, and he now admonishes you in all earnest-

ness and all charity to retrace your steps, to make your full submission, to offer reparation as far as in you lies for the scandal already given by your iniquitous suit, and to avert from your head the censures which must otherwise inevitably fall upon it.

It was by Bp. H.'s own request that no defense was made in the late proceedings before the Vice-Chancellor; the Church will not set itself up against the law, but it will within its own pale, inforce its own discipline, and they who will not abide by it, must, if they continue obstinate, be severed from her communion, and from the participation of those Sacraments which she can only dispense to her faithful and dutiful children.

When Bishop Hughes is apprised of your willingness to refer your present difficulties solely to his decision, to withdraw the threatenings of the law, and to consent yourself to abide by it, he will then decide and act, reserving to himself the privilege of still acting with reference to the case in which his decision was given, and his authority and injunctions afterwards set at defiance, as in his conscience and his sense of duty he shall judge best. I have endeavored in the above as accurately as possible to convey to you Bp. Hughes' reply to your letter — The sentiments are his — and mine are in accordance with them.

Very truly yours in Xt.

✠ John McCloskey, Coadj. of N. Y.

The diocese over which he was to rule for seventeen years (1847–1864) presented almost insuperable difficulties both in Church discipline and in Church support. The flock entrusted to him contained over sixty

thousand souls, scattered from Kingston on the Hudson to the St. Lawrence. Often he had to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation in humble sheds and in tanneries; and yet, as he himself often declared, never did he feel himself nearer to God, and nearer to Christ, than during these early apostolic days of his episcopate. The spirit in which he was to meet every difficulty during these seventeen years that followed, is excellently described for us in his own words — in the first sermon he preached at Albany:

"It is but natural, Beloved Brethren, that in now opening my lips to address you for the first time, in the new and sacred relations, which it has pleased an all-wise Providence to establish between us, I should feel myself oppressed by a more than ordinary embarrassment, awed and almost disconcerted by the very breathlessness and eagerness of your attention, while at the same time thoughts and emotions crowd in upon the mind and rise up within the heart, so numerous and so overpowering that they will strive in vain for utterance. And I must be pardoned if under this painful consciousness of my inadequacy for the task now set before me, and which according to the measure of my poor ability I would fain accomplish, I beg at the outset to cast myself upon your kind indulgence, and furthermore to claim the privilege of speaking to you not as strangers but as friends, not as friends merely but as brethren of the same family, the same household, children adopted and beloved in Jesus Christ.

As friends, as brethren, as children you are bound

to me henceforth by ties the most holy, the most indissoluble. Your spiritual interests it becomes my solemn and bounden duty to watch over, provide for, protect. For this end must I watch without ceasing, for this must I toil, for this must I pray, for this must I be willing to spend and be spent like St. Paul. How intimate then and hallowed and tender are the relations which now subsist, and will continue to subsist between us henceforth and forever! How strong and enduring the bonds by which we have become united for time and eternity! In view of all this then the privilege will assuredly be conceded, to speak in language such as friend speaks to friend, or as a father to his children to lay open to you my whole heart in language plain, familiar, frank, affectionate. What better than the words of the Apostle for this? Our first sentiments therefore are those of earnest and affectionate greeting. . . ."

Bishop McCloskey then expounded the doctrine on the hierarchy of the Church, and after telling them that it is after God to his fellow-laborers in the ministry that the Bishop must look for counsel, for comfort, and for support, he concludes:

"And lastly, Beloved Brethren, our source of hope and consolation in bearing this sacred and arduous burden imposed upon us, is found in you. Already we have had occasion to know and witness how animated is your faith, how noble your generosity, how ardent your zeal. We trust that you will not only continue to cherish and practise these virtues as hitherto but that you will even become conspicuous

for them in a still more eminent degree. We exhort you to consider and bear in mind that this same event which devolves higher responsibilities upon us, devolves them upon yourselves also. A new era commences in your lives and history as Catholics. Albany is a new See. This church is its first Cathedral. You are its first congregation. The future history of the Diocese of Albany as such commences with you and me. Whether it shall be a history to relate its blessing or relate its curse depends on us. According to the foundations which we lay, will be strength or weakness, the comeliness or unsightliness of the edifice, reared upon them. According as the seed is first carefully planted, and the soil well tilled and watered will it grow up in fresh and healthful vigor; and the vigor of its maturity, its fitness for bearing fruit will be in proportion to the early care bestowed on it. Fortunately for us foundations have been already laid and the edifice is advancing, the soil is already tilled, the seed planted, and the tree is producing fruit. Yet we are called upon not only to continue the work, but to enlarge and increase it; to lay new foundations broader and deeper, to erect a structure more spacious and more enduring that the stranger and the wayfarer may enter in and find rest: to plant seed for a larger growth, that the tree's branches may spread out far and near, that you and your children, and your children's may sit down beneath its ample shade, and partake abundantly of its refreshing fruits.

"This is our task. Let us enter in on it with trust in God. 'Unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.' It is ours to plant and

to water, but it is His prerogative to give the increase. Let us take up this task with the alacrity, the zeal, and the generosity which distinguishes the Catholic heart, that heart which is of all times and of all places — that heart which beats in sympathy for all men; which is bound by the mysterious chord of faith to the great and good of every clime and tongue and people; which vibrates to the same tones of prayer and praise and echoes back the same voice of thanksgiving and homage; which whether in the Catacombs of the early Christians or beneath the majestic vaults raised by the hands of faith through succeeding ages, whether by the tombs of apostles or of martyrs, of virgins, of confessors, of saints of various times and countries feels itself no stranger, is at home, rejoices in the recognition of kindred, and the consciousness of welcome — that heart in a word like its faith's expansion is universal, not isolated, not selfish, not shutting up its sympathies within the narrow sphere of a single family or congregation or city, not even measuring them by the span of a single life, but stretching forth its yearnings is anxious for those who are to come after. This is the spirit of the Catholic heart, this the spirit which will animate you for zealous exertion and generous coöperation in every good work.

"But let us not lose sight of that which is above and before all, the end of all our exertions, the aim of all our hopes, that is, the salvation of our immortal souls. This is the object of our ministry. All else — the Church and her Sacraments — is intended only to be subservient and to be conducive to this most momentous of all concerns. Our journey is to the

portal of the tomb beyond which lies the limitless expanse of eternity. 'There the just shall live forevermore, and their reward is with the Lord, and the care of them with the Most High.' Pray and do penance that by your tears mingled with the Saviour's blood your sins may be blotted out. Pray for the Church — for its chief pastor. Pray for the prelate who not of his own deserts but of God's goodness is appointed to watch for your spiritual welfare; pray that he may have wisdom and grace that he may rule as he would wish. Pray for those without. The scandals and infidelity of our forefathers drove them from the Church; by the tears and prayers of their children will their children be led back to the fold. Oh! above all be instant in prayer; let us not be weary of supplication. Let us pray for faith and unity with hearts purified from sin, with hearts burning with the fire of love. Then will our prayers ascend to heaven like the smoke of incense, angels will present them before the throne of grace, and the benediction of heaven shall descend upon us in return. 'For His mercy, saith the Lord, will show the brightness of His countenance, His truth shall compass us as with a shield, our assailants shall fall at the right hand and at the left, no evil shall come to us, nor shall the scourge approach our dwelling.' Then shall we abide together as one family here and one family hereafter."

Shortly after taking possession of his See, he realized that St. Mary's Church which he had made his pro-Cathedral, would prove unsuitable, and he began the erection of the Cathedral of the Immaculate Con-

ception. In less than a year after his coming to Albany, the work was well advanced and on July 2, 1848, the cornerstone of the present beautiful structure was laid by Bishop Hughes. At the close of the first Clergy Retreat over which he presided in May 1848, the priests of the diocese subscribed $5200 as a nucleus to the Cathedral Building Fund. As was his wont, Bishop McCloskey started at once very systematically to enlist the sympathy of his people in the new project. An appeal was made to the people of the different parishes to assist the work of excavation — "those who can bring a horse and cart will confer a great favor by doing so," ran the words of his appeal. All who have gazed upon this magnificent monument of Catholic Albany's love and generosity can hardly realize that within four years the edifice, with the exception of one tower, was completed.

It was dedicated on November 21, 1852. We know now how that splendid feat was accomplished. To obtain the money demanded by such an edifice was hard indeed in those days when the country was at war. In December, 1848, we find Bishop McCloskey in New York, as the guest of Bishop Hughes, going about among the well-to-do Catholics of the city and placing the needs of his diocese before them. Who shall ever know how great was the generosity also of the poor of New York City who loved him! But what is all the more striking is the fact that during those years (1848–1852), while the Cathedral was being built, he himself was almost ready to sink under the burden of supporting the

Church in his vast diocese. We have evidence of this in the letters he wrote to the Leopoldine Association of Vienna, and to the Association of the Propagation of the Faith of Lyons. There remains, for example, among his papers, the following undated letter to the Emperor Francis Joseph, who was President of the Leopoldine Association, asking for help:

To His Imperial Majesty, Francis Joseph,
Emperor, etc.,
May it please Your Majesty:

The undersigned petitioner, Bishop of Albany in the United States of America, approaches Your Majesty with sentiments of most sincere and profound respect; and being happy to recognize in your Imperial person not only the Head of a great Catholic nation, but also the illustrious Heir of a House distinguished for its many virtues, among which has shone forth not the least conspicuous, its zeal for the extension and propagation of our Holy Faith, especially in that New World where the harvest is great and the laborers few, the undersigned, an humble missionary Bishop, having charge over a poor and widely extended flock, presumes to recommend the claims of his poor, among whom are not less than 12000 Germans, to Your Majesty's kind consideration.

The Diocese of Albany is still new and the Bishop has to struggle with many difficulties in making provision for its numerous and daily increasing wants. He is without a seminary; his Cathedral, unfinished. After having expended all his own personal resources, he still finds himself involved in much debt, and is

obliged by the actual necessities of his case no less than by his sense of duty to his faithful people, to appeal to their brethren abroad for assistance and relief.

The undersigned with trusting gratitude acknowledges the aid extended to him by the Leopoldine Society which is established throughout the Empire, and which he trusts under Your Majesty's auspices will continue to flourish more and more, and if he takes too great liberty in still further recommending his cause to Your Majesty, he humbly apologizes, praying in the meantime that Your Majesty may be blessed.

As an example of the generosity from the faithful Catholics of France and of Austria, by which Albany benefitted, the sums received during the years 1848–1856 are instructive. In 1848, the Association of Lyons sent Bishop McCloskey 7920 francs; in 1849, 6000 francs; in 1850, 10,000 francs; in 1851, 3750 francs; in 1854, 7000 francs. The Leopoldine Association Reports also contain the amounts given each year to the Diocese of Albany. For example, in 1849, a cheque for 320 pounds sterling was sent to Bishop McCloskey. That his diocese was in need of this assistance from Europe is clearly seen in a letter he addressed about this time to the Association of Lyons:

Sir:

I have the honor to send you herewith the usual statement relative to the condition and prospects of the Diocese of Albany, and in so doing I crave the privilege of adding a few words beyond the brief

summary enclosed. My diocese is now exactly in that position when its future prospects may be said very much to depend upon the degree of aid and encouragement it will receive from the Society of the Propagation of the Faith. Several very important works have been commenced which if carried to their successful completion will with God's blessing most effectually tend to place the affairs of this new diocese on a secure and permanent basis, and steadily to promote the best interests of religion for all time to come. Among these I may mention the Asylum and Labor School for Orphan Boys; the establishment of the houses for the *Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes;* a house of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart; and the erection of our new Cathedral. For the boys we have secured but not paid for a farm of about sixty acres near this city; its real value is about fifteen thousand dollars, — and we have made a purchase for eight thousand — one thousand of which has already been paid by our own people; but without some annual assistance we can neither continue to hold the property, which it would be a thousand pities to lose, nor make any provision for our poor orphan youth who are falling on every side a prey not simply to want, but to heresy and error.

Our Cathedral will be under roof before winter. We have been obliged to hurry on the work more than our limited resources would allow, in order to protect it from being exposed and open during the severe frosts of another winter. For this reason, I will be obliged to incur even now a debt of eight or ten thousand dollars. I have strained every nerve to gain

assistance at home. All this summer I have been in a neighboring diocese soliciting the aid of the faithful. My success has been very limited, though my fatigue and labor have been very great. All this I had hoped would only entitle me the more to the aid and encouragement of your Society, as I presume they would be most willing to assist those who sought to make the most of their own resources available at home. But the case is otherwise. Notwithstanding all our wants and all exertions the allocations thus far made are among the very smallest. Yet I do not pretend either to find fault or murmur. I still live in hope that something will be done to help me in your council to increase their allocations for a few years at least to 20,000 francs, — With this much paid, I shall in seven or ten years, be placed in position to get along with more moderate aid.

Cholera had broken out in the city of Albany in 1849, and many of his people were carried off by the plague. Among the letters of sympathy the bishop received, was one from the great apostle of temperance, Father Theobald Mathew:

BOSTON, *August* 31, 1849

Most Revd. dear Lord:

I deeply deplore the dire Visitation with which it pleased the Lord to afflict your Episcopal City. Whilst I fervently implore, that the Divine Mercy may be speedily extended to your suffering Flock, and that for the promotion of His own Glory, Your Lordship, and your faithful Clergy, may be shielded

from all danger, I beg leave to subscribe myself with sincere sympathy,

Your Lordship's most devoted Servant,

THEOBALD MATHEW

RIGHT REVD. DR. McCLOSKEY.

Pursuing his policy to seek for aid in the upbuilding of his diocese, Bishop McCloskey sailed from Boston, for Europe, on October 1, 1851. Before his departure, the Catholics of the city presented him with an address and a purse of $1500. His purpose seems to have been solely to visit Vienna and Rome, in order to place the wants of his diocese before the Leopoldine Association and the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. On board the steamer were Madame Hardy, the Superior of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart and four nuns of the same congregation. During the seven months he spent abroad at this time, he wrote frequently to Archbishop Hughes; but few letters of that correspondence have survived. He arrived in Paris in the midst of the revolution, which had broken out in February, 1848, and had driven Louis Philippe from the throne. He left Paris on the eve of the memorable *Coup d'Ětat* of December 2, 1851, which brought about the Second Empire, and reached Rome on December 11, 1857.

HOTEL DE LA MINERVE

ROME, *New Year's Day*, 1858

Most Rev. and dear Archbishop:

I cannot allow the day to pass without availing myself of, at least, a few moments to wish you, from

the Eternal City a happy New Year — and although the greeting will hardly reach you until the year will have begun to lose its newness, still I trust it will not arrive too late to be welcome. I have now been in Rome as long as three weeks, and it seems to me hardly more than so many days. I arrived on the 11th ult., having been fortunate enough to have left Paris just on the evening proceeding the day of the memorable *Coup d'État*, and of course in time to escape being a witness of the scenes of blood which followed, scenes which, as far as the loss of lives and property are concerned, have been but very faintly described in the journals of France. It was in Lyons that the news, "nous sommes en révolution," reached us, and you may be sure I had no desire to display my courage or indulge my curiosity by tarrying any longer on my way than was absolutely necessary.

And still in hurrying forward to Rome, it was with the very uncomfortable reflection that if a revolution gained any headway in Paris, it would be quite sure to be followed by disturbances more or less serious in Rome. I found everything here quite tranquil as to the exterior, but the minds of all were variously agitated by the as yet rather vague and uncertain rumors which had reached them. The French General, however, was known to have declared that as for the French troops in Rome, their duty in any event was plain to continue faithful to their mission of upholding and protecting the Holy Father. I need not tell you that throughout Louis Napoleon had the best wishes of the Roman authorities. And the rejoicings at his present triumph are none the less, from the fact

that it is confidently supposed he has a rod in pickle for England.

I had the honor and consolation of being presented to Pius IX in less than a week after my arrival. I was, of course, like every one else, charmed and delighted with him. His Holiness spoke with lively interest of the prospects of the American Church and of the noble spectacle which would be presented to the Catholic world by our first National council. Monsignor Barnabo told me that in order to secure a full attendance, letters have been written from Rome to the Archbishop and Bishop of Oregon requesting them to be present.

The Holy Father seemed to hope that the Americans would not follow the example of the English in their reception of Kossuth. I venture to express my fears that in the beginning at least, they would even surpass England, but that after the first burst of enthusiasm was over they would quietly let him drop. These fears have been more than realized in the accounts which have reached us within the last two days. Your speech in the Stuyvesant Institute was first shown to me by the American Consul in Marseilles. He was highly pleased that you had come out against Kossuth and hoped the Americans would have the good sense to see his character in its true light. Your letter to Greely has been much read here and everybody thinks it very well-timed and very capital.

I have presented your letter to Cardinals Fornari and Altieri by both of whom I was very kindly received. The latter has promised me a letter to Vienna, which I hope may be of some service to me. I have

had the pleasure of meeting also Lord Fielding and Lady, as well as Lord and Lady Camden. Lord Camden mentioned that he had written you in the summer, but had not yet had the honor of receiving an answer. Lady Fielding is suffering very much from some peculiar complaint in one of her limbs. She is very lame and even in a dangerous state. If faith on her own part, and novenas and prayers in every quarter will avail her bodily malady, she will doubtless soon recover. There are comparatively few English and American strangers in Rome this winter. Yet in this few are numbered many of the distinguished converts.

Father Ignatius is still here laboring for England's conversion. Mr. Manning is pursuing his theological studies in the Academia Ecclesiastica. He is leading a very retired life and edifying all who have the pleasure of meeting him by his very sincere devotion and great humility. Mrs. Read of Baltimore is here with her son and daughter. They have been presented to the Holy Father by Mr. Cass who says that he has never seen His Holiness afford to any a more gracious reception. I had the pleasure of assisting at the Midnight Mass celebrated by the Holy Father at S. Maria Maggiore's — as well as at the grand ceremony on Christmas day at St. Peter's. I am to celebrate Pontifical High Mass at the Propaganda on the Epiphany. Mgr. Prince is here busy with the Acts of the Canadian council. There are several other bishops from foreign parts.

I will endeavor to leave Rome about the 20th of this month, or as soon as possible after I shall have another audience of His Holiness, which has been

graciously promised me. I hope to be back in Paris after having visited Vienna and Munich about the 10th or 12th of March. As I have not yet been in Ireland, I must manage to spare a few days for that enjoyment; then be ready to sail immediately after Easter. I have, thus far, thank God, enjoyed very good health, and had a prosperous journey.

Your friends here, particularly Lord and Lady Camden and Mr. Anderson, desire me to remember them most kindly to you when I should be writing. I have not said anything with reference to the See of Philada., as when I last saw the Secretary of the Propaganda, nothing had been done. The congregation was waiting to hear from all the suffragan bishops of Baltimore. The opinions already before the Congregation are much divided, and greater delay is likely in consequence to ensue. Some action may be taken on the matter after the vacation which will end on the Epiphany.

There is no special news. Be pleased to give my kindest remembrances to all the good clergy of your household, and accept for yourself the assurances of my sincerest regard and esteem, with which, I am,

Most Rev. Sir,

Your faithful servt. in Xt.,

✠ John, Bp. of Albany

Bishop McCloskey returned by way of Vienna, Paris, and Ireland, to New York, and reached that city on April 27, 1852.

The vicious system of trusteeism, whereby the temporal affairs of the parish were governed by a committee of men elected for that purpose, had been

proclaimed by Archbishop Hughes as the worst hindrance to the faith in America. The system had been abolished in Philadelphia and New York City, but in the outlying towns of these dioceses, those who held the office were determined not to yield what they claimed to be their rights.

In Buffalo, for example, when Bishop John Timon (1847–67) was installed in St. Louis Church, on October 22, 1847, as the first ordinary of that diocese, he found a sad condition of affairs in which temporals were mingled with spirituals, and the church actually directed by the lay trustees. It was not long before he came into conflict with them, and they notified the bishop that he was not welcome. He left the parish and built St. Patrick's Church.

His volume on the *Missions in Western New York and the Church History of the Diocese of Buffalo* (Buffalo, 1862) give us the details of this scandal. No bishop, he writes, ever began under circumstances more discouraging. The rebellious spirit of the trustees knew no bounds and he was obliged to place the church under an interdict on June 14, 1851. The trustees remained defiant and when Archbishop Bedini, Apostolic Delegate to Brazil, visited the United States, the case was placed before him. He decided against the trustees, who immediately began an attack upon him with violent letters of denunciation. The result was that, on June 22, 1854, the trustees were excommunicated. Shea tells us that they soon saw their hold on their followers waning, and they made a feigned submission in order to obtain the removal of the interdict. "This was scarcely done when they

petitioned the Legislature of New York to make a general law by which all Catholic Church property could be placed under the control of irresponsible men like themselves."

Bishop McCloskey lost no time in informing Archbishop Hughes of the Act to prevent ecclesiastics from inheriting, and petitions against the bill were drawn up and signed by thousands. Section one, of the bill read as follows: "No grant or devise of real or personal estate to, nor any trust of such estate for, the benefit of any person and his successors in any ecclesiastical office, or to or for any person, by the designation of any such office, shall vest any estate or interest in any successor of such person." All understood that the bill was a blow aimed against the freedom of the Catholic Church and against the civil rights of Catholics.

The *New York Tribune* spoke of the bill as follows:

"It does seem to us that this is not right. A man dies who chooses to will his property or a part of it to the Roman Catholic or Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York or any other ecclesiastical functionary and his successor in that station. Can it be right for the State to forbid and prevent his so doing? We cannot see how, if it is right to let him will it to the Bishop of today, he should be forbidden to will the reversion of it to the successors in office of that Bishop. Can any one give a satisfactory reason? It were idle to affect not to see that this bill is calculated, we fear, intended, to have a special application. Though in general terms, it is well understood that its bearing

will be felt by Roman Catholics more emphatically than by others. We protest against this sort of legislation. If you mean to interdict the divisions of property to Catholic Bishops, be manly about it, and say so in your bill; but don't allow the testator a seeming liberty and yet defeat this intent by enacting that the property so willed shall take a direction contrary to and subversive of its purpose."

The bill which passed the Legislature in the session of 1854–55, was not framed to aid Catholics or the Church, "but was drawn up and passed by their avowed bitter enemies to introduce confusion and ruin into their temporal affairs." We have two letters from Bishop McCloskey to Archbishop Hughes while the bill was before the Legislature.

ALBANY, *March 28th*, 1855

Most Rev. and Dear Archbishop:

I congratulate you on your safe arrival and hope that you return to us with renovated health and vigor. I would have sent you a few lines yesterday, knowing that you would be anxious to receive intelligence concerning Putnam's Bill. But I have for some days past been confined to a sick bed, and am only now beginning to crawl about again. The receipt of your kind letter determines me to allow no further delay.

It is too true that you arrive only in time for the final passage of the iniquitous Bill just alluded to. This morning it passed through the Committee of the whole under pressure of the gag-law and has been ordered to its third reading. There is little doubt that it will be taken up out of its order, as was done in the Senate,

and receive its third reading to-morrow or next day — at latest before the end of the week.

If you were here upon the spot to know and see the character of the men who compose our present Legislature, to witness their utter disregard of honor or principle, or good faith or even common decency where we are concerned, if you could listen to the vile falsehoods which they utter, knowing them to be false and blandly smiling when convicted beyond possibility of escape, and daring to utter others still worse the moment after, if you saw with what especial relish they enjoy any low abuse in which the name of "John Hughes," or the "Pope of Rome" is mixed up, you would hardly, I think, condescend to the effort either of soothing or enlightening them — even if this were possible — which it is not.

The men who have framed and voted for this bill are for the most part already convinced of its injustice. Many of them have even acknowledged it — but excuse themselves by saying "my constituents wish me to vote for it." In the Senate, Mr. Crosby has I think put forward almost every argument you would wish to urge. Not to be sure with proper force and clearness, for unfortunately all the talent for speaking was on the side of our opponents. Mr. Putnam is beyond dispute the best debater as well as the best tactician in the Senate, and having with him Whitney and Brooks of New York, all the odds are against us. The speeches of Whitney and Brooks could not easily be surpassed by Gavassi. Mr. Crosby had not in his possession your Pastoral, for I had it not at hand, — but I remembered all its arguments distinctly, for I

had read it and commented on it in St. Joseph's Ch., New York. I stated this fact to Mr. C. and embodied your argument in notes which I gave him — which notes must have covered eight or ten pages such as the present. The assertions made by Putnam concerning your course with reference to the trustees of St. Louis Ch., I authorized him to brand as false, for I knew them to be so. With reference to the argument of your Pastoral, it was met by simply saying "that the acts of the Councils of Baltimore" on which he mainly relied were of later date, and in every way a higher authority — and for the other, if you had not obliged the trustees to convey their titles to you, Bp. Timon had. But in truth argument was not listened to — at least was of no avail — it was a foregone conclusion that the Bill must pass. Knownothingism had been snubbed, Seward had been elected, and how were these men to go back to their constituents and have nothing to shew in extenuation for their crimes of violating their pledges, and disregarding their promises by voting for Seward, and supporting the cause of the Pope. Let them only make a fair Anti-Popery demonstration, let them pass that bill destroying the money power of the Bishops and Priests, and all is safe — and as for the legitimate Seward party, the game was well understood — and was not to be spoiled — it will do no harm just now to let the public see that in voting for Mr. Seward, it does not mean that we are voting for the Pope or Bp. Hughes. This has been the argument which has prevailed.

I have watched every turn and move from the beginning, and have received faithful verbal reports

of every speech, and every artifice had recourse to. We tried hard to give the bill a party character — the only ground on which it could be defeated. Mr. Crosby denounced it as a Knownothing movement from beginning to end. But the Seward men could not understand. . . . After all the Buffalo men are at the bottom of all the mischief. I am to be furnished with the names of all the Petitioners in favor of it, and will preserve them for Bp. Timon. They are all without an exception from his diocese. I am going to test the Bill next week, should it become a law next week. St. Joseph's Ch. is to be rebuilt, and will be sold under mortgage to perfect the title. Mr. Hill, one of our most eminent lawyers, has the matter now in his hands. The President of the Judiciary Committee of the Assembly pronounces it unconstitutional — what is the reply of the House — "We will risk that — the bill must pass" — Putnam said to Mr. Kernan of Utica — "There is no use in your people being annoyed about this Bill — it can't do you any harm," when this wave of popular excitement has passed by, you can have it repealed or get such law as you want —" and such I believe to be the truth. I hated to see our enemies have a triumph — but I am convinced that we will be the gainers by it. I will be in N. York immediately after Easter when I will give you all the details. It is important that they should be known, and made to produce their effect at the proper time and occasion.

I remain

Very truly

Your fd. and brother in Xt.

✠ John Bp. of Albany

ALBANY, *March 29th*, 1855

Most Rev. Dr. Archbishop:

Today Mr. O'Keefe met Mr. Weed in the Assembly Chamber and urged him to assist in defeating the bill. Mr. W's reply was that he did not think it could be defeated, and it was for this reason he had abstained from making any effort, as he did not like to risk a failure. He particularly promised to do what he could. I cannot be convinced that it was not in his power at any time, and if not yet, to defeat it if he likes. I have not gone near him, neither would Mr. Austin or any Catholic of standing here consent to approach him, for reasons which I shall explain hereafter. He has treated me very badly, and knows that he has committed himself. O'Keefe has some faint hope that on the third reading it may fail. It is supposed it will be called up to-morrow. This morning I made my last move of which I think I forgot to inform you last evening. I have written a letter to the Governor which he has received today, drawing especially his attention to the high authorities that pronounce the bill unconstitutional, also setting forth its confiscatory character and the question of mere trusteeism I have not touched, as this is with them all a point already settled in their own minds. I endeavor to show that besides forcing us back upon the Trustee System, it goes a great deal farther. If I could see Ogden Hoffman, the Attorney General, with whom I am acquainted, I think I could get him to sustain the ground of unconstitutionality. He is however, a friend of Putnam, and greatly applauded his speech.

Mr. Hill, the lawyer of whom I spoke yesterday,

and who has no superior in this city, has given his written opinion declaring both the 2d and 3d sections of the bill unconstitutional. In the sale to take place next week he advises us to purchase and to take the title as heretofore, and he defies them to touch us. I ought to observe that the object of my sending my letter to the Governor so soon, was to induce him to call in Weed and ask him to save him the responsibility of signing the bill by stopping it in the house. If your letter should arrive to-morrow, it will be in time at any rate to be brought under the notice of the Governor and have its affect in that quarter. As for the vagabonds in the Legislature, you only do them too much honor.

Now that I think there is no doubt that the odious provision will be utterly void and without effect in the courts of law, I really would be better pleased that the bill would pass just as it is. It will do us good in many ways. It has already done it and is still doing it and it would be almost a pity that the fellows who have heaped so much insult on us should have a chance of yet redeeming themselves.

I am still confined to my room, have a bad cough and begin to fear I shall hardly be able to get through the ceremony of next week. I have had to give up preaching for the present.

Begging your prayers,

I remain, your friend and brother in Xt.,

✠ John, Bp. of Albany

Any hope that the Legislature would recognize the religious bigotry in the bill was soon dispelled. It

passed both houses and though it remained a dead letter and was repealed seven years later, it is an unmistakable sign of the intolerance of the times. The bill was "more revolutionary in its character than any theory relative to the tenure of land advocated in modern times. It is the first enactment denying individual property in land, and asserting the right of the State not only to confiscate all land without compensation, but even to convey it at will. It made void any deed, lease, or devise of any Catholic bishop, and on his death vested the property in any incorporated congregation happening to use the same, but, if the congregation was not incorporated, escheating the property to the State.

This Act confiscated the property of five bankrupt boards of trustees, sold under judicial or other legal process and purchased by Archbishop Hughes with his own money, annexed it to the State domain, and conveyed it back to the bankrupts without consideration. The incorporation required by the State was one in which boards of trustees were elected by pew and seat renters, not required to be Catholics, attendants at the church, or participants in its sacraments, a system which had been modified to suit several Protestant denominations."

The whole story of this perilous situation was dealt with in a long résumé furnished by Archbishop Hughes in May, 1855, and in a series of letters to Erastus Brooks, — all of which will be found in the second volume of his published works, by Lawrence Kehoe. The bill did indeed prove a dead letter, as Bishop McCloskey predicted, but the Catholics realized that

it was a dangerous weapon, if allowed to remain on the Statute Books. Three years later we find Bishop McCloskey writing again on the question of a repeal of the Church Property Bill:

ALBANY, *Dec. 30th*, 1858

Most Rev. dear Archbishop:

As the Legislature will meet on Monday next, it is important to know at as early a moment as possible what measures are to be taken with reference to the Church Property Bill. Both branches of the Legislature will be entirely in the hands of the Republicans, and it may be that having clearly the power, they may have also the will to befriend us in this matter. I understood Your Grace to say that you would either see or write to Mr. Weed on the subject. I have no doubt that he will tell you candidly what would be our prospects of success, and whether it would be advisable for us to seek a repeal of Putnam's odious bill or not. I would be glad to learn whether you have had as yet any communication with Mr. W. If none has yet been had, would it not be well to ascertain his view and feelings on this matter with as little delay as possible — I shall cheerfully receive and endeavor to carry out any suggestions or instructions which Your Grace may think proper to intimate.

Wishing you a happy New Year and many happy returns,

I remain,

Yr. Faithful Bro. and serv't in Dmo.

✠ JOHN, BP. OF ALB'Y.

MOST REV. DR. HUGHES

An event which brought sorrow to the archdiocese at the time was the apostasy of Rev. John Murray Forbes, D.D. The Rev. Dr. Forbes was born in New York in 1807 and graduated from Columbia College in 1827. In 1830, after finishing his divinity course at the General Theological Seminary, he was ordained for the Episcopal ministry. In 1834, he became Rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, New York, and at the same time taught pastoral theology in the seminary. He became interested in the Tractarian Movement and was one of the group of non-Catholic clergymen who entered the Church between the years 1845 and 1852. He became a Catholic in 1849, entered Fordham Seminary, and was ordained to the Catholic priesthood, together with the late Monsignor Preston, by Bishop McCloskey, on November 16, 1850. He was then appointed assistant at Nativity Church, and became pastor of St. Ann's, in June 1852. St. Ann's was formerly a Protestant church and was bought in order to make a place for Dr. Forbes. For ten years every courtesy was shown to Dr. Forbes. He was theologian for Bishop Reynolds of Charleston, at the First Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1852. The Holy See conferred the degree Doctor of Sacred Theology on him in 1854, and he was theologian for Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston, at the Provincial Council of New York in 1854. His apostasy has always been somewhat of a mystery. His letter renouncing his communion with the Church appeared in the public press in October, 1859:

New York, *Oct.* 17, 1859

Most Rev. John Hughes, D.D.
Archbishop,

Most Reverend Sir:

It is now nearly ten years since under your auspices I laid down my ministry in the Protestant Episcopal Church to submit myself to the Church of Rome. The interval, as you know, has not been idly spent; each day has had its responsibility and duty, and with these have come experience, knowledge and observation of many things not so well understood before. The result is that I feel I have committed a grave error, which publicly made should be publicly repaired. When I came to you it was stated, with a deep and conscientious conviction that it was necessary to be in communion with the See of Rome; but this conviction I have not been able to sustain in face of the fact, that by it the natural rights of man and all individual liberty must be sacrificed, not only so, but the private conscience often violated, and one forced by silence at least, to acquiesce in what is opposed to moral truth and virtue. Under these circumstances, when I call to mind how slender is the foundation in the earliest ages of the Church upon which has been reared the present papal power, I can no longer regard it as imposing obligations upon me or anyone else. I do now, therefore, by this act, disown and withdraw myself from its alleged jurisdiction.

I remain, Most Reverend Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

John Murray Forbes, D.D.,
Late Pastor of St. Ann's Church, N. Y.

The Archbishop's reply follows:

New York, *Oct. 22d*, 1859

Rev. Sir:

I read with deep affliction your communication published in the *Herald* of this morning. In consequence of that communication, it is my duty to revoke and withdraw as I hereby do from you, all sacerdotal faculties hitherto at any time granted you in the diocese of New York.

John, Abp. of New York

Rev. John Murray Forbes, D.D.

For seventeen years after the departure of Bishop McCloskey for Albany, Archbishop John Hughes bore single-handed the brunt of the battle for Christ in New York. His diocese was growing with a rapidity which could not easily be controlled by one man, but he fought on till the end uncomplainingly. Probably no prelate of the Church in America ever stood so distinctly alone. His sway over priests and people had always been a dominant, forceful one, and little by little the task of ruling over the great Church of New York was beginning to tell upon his strength. His old age was upon him when the Civil War broke out in 1861, but there could be no leisure moments, and scarcely any rest, for the lion-hearted leader of his people in this country. The attacks upon him personally, upon his administration, upon the Church at home and the Church in Rome, all kept him incessantly busy with sermons and replies. No man was ever more sensitive and jealous of his good name; and the malicious and cowardly attempts to belie his character

and his methods hurt far more deeply than any of his friends ever realized.

Among those friends was one who never faltered in his allegiance and upon whom Archbishop Hughes depended as a father does upon a faithful and loving son. In Bishop McCloskey's fidelity and affectionate sympathy he found his most cherished solace. With the fatigue of his great office oppressing him, it is little wonder that he sought to resign the burden altogether or to ask the Holy See to grant him a coadjutor for the work of his diocese. "My health is poor and declining," he wrote to a friend in Rome, on June 23, 1860, "and I think that if I could get a coadjutor more than once mentioned, it would probably prolong my days if not years." He consulted his suffragans and even named his choice, but they begged him to delay. That his suffragans were unwilling to see him resign the direction of the See of New York into other hands is evident from a letter written by Bishop Bacon of Portland, Me.:

PORTLAND, *July* 15, 1869

Most Rev. Dear Archbishop:

On my return yesterday from Manchester, I found your letter of the 6th inst. an answer to which I now send you by the Rev. Mr. Muller who goes to New York.

Cardinal Barnabo told me, a few days before my departure from Rome, that he had received two letters from Mr. B. the Pontifical Consul at New York. In one of these Mr. B. spoke of the necessity of appointing a Coadjutor for the Arch-Diocese, and it appeared

to me that he had expressed his opinion that Your Grace needed one, in a manner calculated to have an erroneous impression on the mind of His Eminence; he at least took the liberty of giving his advice as to the proper selection as if he had been authorized to do so.

. . . . . .

I hope that Your Grace's health has improved since I had the pleasure of seeing you.

Faithfully as ever,

Your devoted Ser't and Brother in Xto.

✠ David, Bishop of Portland

After his return from Europe, whither he had gone to carry on the diplomatic mission entrusted to him by the Government in 1861, it was visible to all that his course was run. His mental vigor as well as his once great strength of body were beginning to decline, and early in December, 1863, he was compelled to take to his bed. On December 29, his devoted friends, Father Starrs, then Vicar-General, Father McNierny, his Secretary, and Bishop McCloskey were with him, when the physicians told him that all hope was past. He died on January 3, 1864, while Bishop McCloskey was reciting the prayers for the dying. At the funeral on January 7, Bishop McCloskey preached the sermon.

The eulogy was a beautiful explanation of the text: "I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith." Archbishop McCloskey said in part:

"If ever the words of the living would seem to issue forth or be echoed back from the lips of the dead, it is

now, when these words which I have just uttered, would appear rather as proceeding from the mouth of the illustrious departed prelate, whose venerated form, still clothed in all the insignia of his high and sacred office, lies here before us in placid dignity and calm repose. Still we fancy we hear him saying, 'I have fought the good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith. For the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice, which the just judge, the Lord, shall render to me.'

"When these words, beloved brethren, were first spoken, or rather written, by the great Apostle of the Gentiles, it was not as we know, in any spirit of boastfulness or self-praise. They were meant simply as the earnest expression of the consciousness which he felt that the term of his mortal labors was nearly expired; that his work was finished; that his course was run; and that now, steadfast in the faith, firm in hope, he only awaited the summons of his Divine Master which should call him to his reward. They were intended, too, to give courage and strength and consolation to the heart of his friend and fellow-laborer in the apostleship, Timothy; and not only to his heart, but to the hearts of all his well-beloved spiritual children scattered throughout the Church, that, when he should have passed away from earth, when they should look upon his face and hear his voice no more, they would not yield themselves up to immoderate transports of grief, or indulge in tears of merely unavailing sorrow, but that they would rather be sustained and comforted by that grand and glorious faith which he had preached to them; by the remem-

brances of all his services and all his labors, of how he had toiled and endured, and suffered for them, and how by all this and through all this he had won a great reward. So even is it now.

"Our heads indeed are bowed down in sorrow, our hearts are oppressed and overloaded with a mighty load of grief, because our great and good Archbishop is no more. He whom we had loved so well, he who was our father and benefactor, our kind and trusted friend; he who was our pride and joy; he who so long stood up among us as a pillar of safety and a tower of strength — he is no more.

"That voice of eloquence, those inspiring harangues, those lessons of wisdom, those paternal counsels, those earnest and ceaseless exhortations which so often delighted our ears, instructed our minds, filled with transports of joy our hearts — all this we shall hear no more. And we would be tempted to yield ourselves up solely to the emotions of our grief were it not that we do still think that we hear him say, 'Weep not, dear children, grieve not for me. Be comforted by the thought that I have fought the good fight; the work that was given me to accomplish has been finished. I have run my course; I have kept the faith. I now simply await my crown.' Our loss, indeed, beloved brethren, is great. How great, how deeply and sincerely felt, has been made manifest by all that has been presented to our eyes since the moment his spirit took flight from this lower world, by all those manifestations of love and gratitude and highest feeling which a devoted people have been paying by hundreds and thousands, day after day, in pressing forward to show

their last tribute of respect even to his cold remains, and to look upon his face once more for the last time.

"And it is not our loss alone, not the loss of a single congregation or a single diocese, but it is a loss of the whole Church, a loss felt by every Catholic heart throughout the land. For we do not doubt, we cannot doubt, that when the electric spark carried with its lightning speed tidings of his death throughout the length and breadth of the country, it thrilled every heart, especially every Catholic heart, with a pang of agony. And it filled all breasts, even those who were not of the same church or faith, with sentiments of deep and sincere regret.

"His fame and his name, and his services, too, were of the whole country; and, I may say, of the whole world. He stood forward preëminently as the great Prelate of the Church in this country, as its able and heroic champion, as the defender of its faith, as the advocate of its rights, as the ever-vigilant guardian of its honor. He was not only a great prelate, but he was a great man; one who has left his mark upon the age in which he lived, one who has made an impression upon every Catholic mind in this country which time can never efface."

The question naturally arose about the choice of a successor, and there seems to have been very little doubt that Bishop McCloskey would succeed him. "No sooner had God called to his eternal reward the good and greatly lamented Dr. Hughes," wrote Archbishop Odin of New Orleans, on October 12, 1864, "than all eyes were turned towards Albany to find

him a successor. No doubt it was a painful sacrifice for you to part with your beloved flock, but we thank God to have selected you for this important See." On January 15, 1864, Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston, wrote to Bishop McCloskey from Brussels, declaring that his promotion to the Archiepiscopal See of New York was necessary not alone for the good of the Church, but especially for the success of the Provincial Seminary at Troy, which was about to open that year.

BRUSSELS, *Jan.* 15, 1864

Rt. Rev. and dear friend:

The telegraph today brought in the sad news of the death of Archb. Hughes. I never knew how large a place he filled in my esteem and affection as well as in the wants of our Church, until the announcement of his death laid open before me the void which it leaves after him.

I pray you to write as soon as possible a detailed account of all the particulars which may not appear in the public papers. You may easily conceive my anxiety to know them. It is my opinion that, despite all the repugnance you will feel at such a burden, you must take his place. Your health, as it seems to me, is, thank God, growing better instead of worse, and, although not strong, you are tough. It is my sincere conviction that, all things considered, you are best fitted for the place. Our intended Seminary is, to my judgment, the most important thing by far in the immediate future of our Church, and your succession will make it sure. That of a certain other which would be likely to come, yours failing, might be fatal to the

whole plan. If God spares my life, you know how fully you will command my most hearty support and coöperation in that and in all things else. With great affection,

Your devoted brother in Xt.
✠J. B. F., Bp. of Boston

Rt. Rev. J. McCloskey.

When it became apparent to Bishop McCloskey that the rumors of his elevation to the See of New York were general, he addressed to his friend, Cardinal Reisach, the following letter, in which he felt as he says "both physically and morally, wholly unfit and unequal."

Albany, *Jan. 26th*, 1864

To His Eminence Cardinal de Reisach,

Most Eminent and dear Lord Cardinal:

Your Eminence will pardon me, I trust, if, presuming on the kindness and condescension shown me in the past, I now venture to have recourse to you in a moment which for me is one of deepest anxiety and fear. Your Eminence, as a member of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, will have learned, most probably before this reaches you, that among the names commended through the Sacred Congregation to the Holy See to fill the vacancy caused by the much lamented death of the illustrious Archbishop of New York, my name unfortunately is placed first on the list. Now I write to implore your Eminence in case there should be any danger of my appointment or of my being transferred from Albany to New York to aid me in preventing it, and to save me from the humiliation

and misery of being placed in a position for the duties and responsibilities of which I feel myself both physically and morally, wholly unfit and unequal.

If you will bear with me, I will state a few only of the many, very many grounds of objection. In the first place, when the votes of the Bishops of the Province were taken, the Bishop of Buffalo received just the same number as myself. It was by the change of a single vote afterwards made, that my name took precedence. There was, therefore, no unanimity on the subject. The Bishops, whose wisdom and judgment entitled them to most weight, did not commend my name for the first. The venerable Bishop of Buffalo gave his voice not for me, but in favor of Bishop Loughlin of Brooklyn. My own was and still is in favor of the Bishop of Buffalo.

Again, when after having been appointed and consecrated coadjutor of the Bishop of New York with the right of succession, it was required of me to resign both coadjutorship and right of succession and to come to Albany, I then resolved and still hold to the resolution, that as far as it depended upon my free will or consent of my own, I should never again return to New York. Having been relieved of the prospect of succession, I never thought afterwards of aspiring or being called to it. I have accordingly done nothing to prepare or qualify myself for it.

I speak only from the deepest sincerity of heart and from the strongest convictions of conscience, when I say that I possess neither the learning, nor prudence, nor energy, nor firmness, nor bodily health and strength, which are requisite for such an arduous and highly

responsible office as that of Archbishop of New York. I recoil from the very thought of it with shuddering, and I do most humbly trust that such a crushing load will not be placed upon my weak and most unworthy shoulders. Either the Bishop of Louisville, Dr. Spalding, or the Bishop of Buffalo, Dr. Timon, would fill the post with dignity, efficiency, and honor.

Your Eminence may perhaps be disposed to ask: Why not make these representations to Cardinal Barnabo rather than to me? My answer is: first, I do not wish to seem as taking it for granted that my name will be presented to the Holy See. The communications which will be received from the several Archbishops of the country, and from other sources may change entirely the aspect of the case, and no serious attention may be paid to the simple fact of my name appearing first on the list forwarded from New York. In such an event, objections and remonstrances on my part made to the Cardinal Prefect would not only be out of place, but seem somewhat presumptuous and premature. Besides I feel that I can address your Eminence with more freedom from official restraint, and in my own language which is easier and more natural to me.

It will be for Your Eminence to make such use of my communication as to your own wisdom and prudence may seem best. I only wish that if occasion required it my feelings and sentiments shall be made known to the Cardinal Prefect and Sacred Congregation. When once the decision is made and the Holy Father speaks, there remains for me nothing but silence. His will is in all things to me a law.

Begging a thousand pardons for this intrusion and commending myself once more to your friendly interest and sympathy, I have the honor to be

Your Eminence's most obedient servant in Xto.,

✠ John, Bp. of Albany

That this letter reveals the soul of John McCloskey in all its profound humility no one will doubt. But there was only one dissenting voice in the choice — that of Bishop McCloskey himself. His name was first on the list sent in both by the priests of the diocese, and the bishops of the Province. Archbishop Bayley, then the Bishop of Newark writes to him, under date of March 5, 1864: "I think that you will be appointed without doubt, and you should not think of refusing." "What you feared and what we hoped in sincerity" writes Bishop de Goesbriand of Burlington, on April 15, 1864, "has it seems come to pass." The Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph* on April 17, 1864, published the following statement.

"We learn from a well informed correspondent in Rome that the Apostolic letters confirming the nomination by our prelates of Right Rev. Bishops Spalding and McCloskey, respectively to the Archiepiscopal Sees of Baltimore and New York, were to be expedited the week after the date of his letter, early in March."

Monsignor Preston wrote to him at once congratulating him, but he replied on April 19, that he had no intelligence concerning the promotion spoken of "except what comes from the newspapers." That he still cherished the hope of avoiding the burden of the

archiepiscopate is seen in a letter to Archbishop Spalding, then Bishop of Louisville, who was to be named, the same day as Cardinal McCloskey, to the See of Baltimore. Bishop Spalding had written to him to say that the news of their appointment seemed certain:

LOUISVILLE, *Apl.* 27, 1864

Rt. Rev. Dear Friend:

As the newspapers and public gossip place us in the same boat, I think it well that we should sympathize with each other in our mutual misfortunes, if these be real, and not, as I incline to suspect, imaginary. What a pity that these gossips could not await an official declaration before plying their busy trade!

For myself I have not heard one word from Rome on a subject upon which I would be likely to be informed, *tôt ou tard*. Have you received any Roman letters, private or public?

I am told that Dr. Wm. McCloskey, the General of the Jesuits, several young students of the American College, and perhaps the General of the Redemptorists (I infer this from what Archbp. Purcell writes concerning the statement of Father Geissell), have all written to the same effect. What would make me incline to distrust the account, is the circumstance that early in March — the date of the alleged nominations — would seem to be rather early for the nomination of a successor to Archbp. Hughes, who died only Jany. 3. However, I fervently hope it is the fact so far as you are concerned; and I trust you will not think of setting me the bad example of declining. Of course, neither of us can entertain any serious thought on the

subject one way or the other, till all will be officially known.

I confess it would cost me many a pang to leave my old Kentucky home, to which thirty years of agreeable, if not profitable, ministry have endeared me. You cannot tear up so old a tree without rudely sundering and leaving clinging to the native soil not a few of its younger and tenderer roots. As I suppose you are in a similar condition, we can appreciate each other's feeling; though you approach nearer the home of your childhood by the change.

I remain very truly and affectionately,

Your Brother in Christ

✠ M. J. Spalding, Bishop of Louisville

Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Albany.

Bishop McCloskey's reply is as follows:

Albany, *April* 30, 1864

Rt. Rev. and dear Friend:

I had several times thought of writing to you to express the same sentiments and make the same inquiries, which I find in your esteemed favor of the 27th. inst. just come to hand.

I have received no letters from Rome either official or unofficial on the subject of the rumored appointments. The only reliable or authentic information which has reached New York, is contained in a letter from Father Sopranis to Father Tellier, in which he states that Cardinal Barnabo told him, that the nominations would be finally decided at the next meeting of the Sacred Congregation; that there was no doubt you would be appointed to Baltimore and I to New York. Father

Sopranis' letter was received a few weeks ago, and it was this that gave renewed force to the rumor first put in circulation by the *Catholic Telegraph.*

There is no doubt, I think, of your appointment; concerning my own, I still cherish the hope that the objections which I have presented and strongly urged will prevail or have already prevailed. Should they be overruled, I must accept the decision of the Holy Father as the expression of the Will of God.

In any event we may well sympathize with each other just now, for our position is not at all a pleasant one.

In my letter to Rome, I took the liberty of strongly urging your appointment to New York in case you were not promoted to the more honorable post at Baltimore.

Should any more authentic intelligence reach me soon, I will not delay in writing you.

Meantime, I remain,

Your very sincere fr. and bro. in Xto.,

✠ John, Bp. of Albany

Rt. Rev. Dr. Spalding.

The news of Cardinal McCloskey's appointment reached him early in May, 1864. Rev. Dr. Smith wrote to him from Rome congratulating him on his appointment to the Archbishopric of New York. "He gives no details" wrote Bishop McCloskey to Archbishop Spalding, from Albany, May 3, 1864, "but he leaves no room to doubt. I do not know that I should congratulate you. I certainly do congratulate the Archdiocese of Baltimore. I am delighted at your appointment; I only pity myself."

A letter which came from the Rector of the American College at Rome at this time is worthy of insertion because of its reference to a young priest, then a student at the college, who was destined by Divine Providence to become Archbishop McCloskey's successor in the See of New York:

ROME, *May 21st.* 1864

Rt. Rev. and dear Friend:

Your very kind letter of April 25, reached me last week, and I regret as much as you do the annoyance you experienced from the publication of what was never intended for the newspapers. I shall be more cautious in future. But of the fact itself, if you have not received official intelligence of it already, there can be no doubt. As far back as the vigil of Easter, your name only wanted the confirmation of the Holy Father, who, on account of his illness, could not then attend to that formality. What all Rome knew, I thought I might add as an item of news to a letter that I happened to be writing at the time. . . .

Among the students from the province of New York, there are two whom I could recommend as professors for the Seminary at Troy — one, a Mr. Corrigan, from the Diocese of Newark, and a Mr. Gardner of Brooklyn, both young men of virtue and talent, and having already an inclination for the seminary life. Indeed the Bishop of Newark intends Mr. Corrigan for his own Seminary, and I fear you will find it no easy matter to induce him to give him up. . . .

Yours sincerely and affectionately,
WILLIAM MCCLOSKEY

Again he writes to Archbishop Spalding from Albany, June 14, 1864, saying that the Bulls had arrived. "I had cherished a faint lingering of hope," he says, "that something might turn up which would save me from the appointment, but now that the Holy Father has decided, I see no alternative, but to accept the decision of the Holy See, as the expression of the Divine Will."

On June 21, 1864, Archbishop Spalding wrote to him that he had decided to accept:

LOUISVILLE, *June* 21, *St. Aloysius Day*, 1864

Most Rev. Dear Friend:

I too, after a three days' retreat, have decided to accept, urged thereto principally by the strong language of the Cardinal to which you refer. I expect *Deo volente*, to take my leave of my flock, on Sunday, July 10, and then to attend an informal meeting of the suffragan provincial bishops on the 13th and 14th, reaching Saratoga on July 16th or 18th. I think of taking possession of my new See on the feast of St. Ignatius, July 31st, the great patronal feast of Maryland.

I believe the title "Elect," though sufficiently common, is not accurate after the confirmation of the Pontiff. The *Stylus Curiae* adopted by the Cardinal both in the superscription and the inside address of my documents, is simply "Arcivescovo di Baltimore," and I suppose yours is similar. This is like another popular blunder, of calling the Apostolic Letters in forma Brevis — signed by the Cardinal Prefect of Briefs — Bulls. A Papal Bull is on gray not white

parchment, is dated in the old style *Calend.* and *Idibus*, etc., and is sealed not *Annulo Piscatoris*, but with the *Bulla* or leaden Seal.

When do you think you will take formal possession of N. York? We will talk this and other matters over when I shall see you at Saratoga.

I believe we do not lose our jurisdiction until we send off to the Pontiff our formal acceptance *in scriptis*.

As in missionary countries, like ours, all our business with the Holy See is transacted through the Propaganda, I do not believe that the forms usual for Catholic countries apply to us. Thus when I received the dispensation from the Pope to make my visit *ad limina per procuratorem*, I sent my Report addressed to the Pontiff inclosed to Cardinal Barnabo, requesting him to have the kindness to act himself as my procurator, or, if this should not be *in regola*, to appoint Very Rev. Tobias Kirby of the Irish College or any other he might think proper to select. The Cardinal kindly did it himself, and seemed glad of the chance, and I very promptly received a very flattering Latin letter from the Pope's Latin Secretary in response to my Report. I intend to do the same at present: i.e., to inclose my letter of acceptance and thanks with the petition for the pallium to the Pope in my letter to the Cardinal; and I have no doubt it will be all right. I would not be surprised, even if the Cardinal sent us the pallium, without our asking, that is if he learned our acceptance. Bishop Luers may bring it to us, as I told him to act for me according to circumstances and his judgment.

I am naturally anxious about my successor. The meeting of the Bishops will pretty well settle the previous question.

. . . . . .

Devotedly your Brother in Christ,

✠ M. J. Spalding

Mt. Rev. Dr. McCloskey, Archbishop of New York.

On August 8, 1864, Bishop McCloskey entered upon the customary spiritual retreat at Fordham, where he spent eight days in retirement, preparing for his installation, which had been fixed for August 21. "I hope it may be possible for you to fulfil your kind promise," he writes to Archbishop Spalding, "of honoring me and all of us with your presence on the 21st. I would be glad as would be everyone else, if you would say a few words on the occasion. I suppose I will also have to make a brief address. As you have already gone through the ceremony, you will be better able to judge what is the most fitting course. Pray for your trembling brother and friend."

It is no exaggeration to say that his seventeen years of residence in Albany had endeared him to all its citizens, irrespective of creed or party. His apostolic labors in that diocese were of an heroic kind. Seventeen years before, he had entered upon his duties with the zealous determination to endow his diocese with all the ecclesiastical helps it needed. The Catholics were much scattered over the vast territory over which he ruled, and in many places the anti-Catholic spirit of 1844 still lingered. His success was noticeable from the beginning.

The results of his labors is thus chronicled in the press at this time.

"When he went to Albany, the town contained four Catholic churches. One of these, St. Mary's church he made his Cathedral. Another church was used exlusively by German Catholics. The Orphan Asylum of St. Vincent was established in 1830. It was attended by the Sisters of Charity, who also directed a female school. The remainder of his diocese contained about forty churches, and had less than that number of Catholic clergymen. Bishop McCloskey went to work with fresh zeal in order to endow his diocese with all the wants which his flock required. This was rather a difficult task at first. The Catholics were much scattered over the territory, were far from being wealthy as a body, and it must be acknowledged in some of the districts there existed a great prejudice against them.

"Under the impulse given by Bishop McCloskey the town of Troy founded a female orphan asylum, which he placed under the control of the Sisters of Charity. In the year 1851, the Christian Brothers opened the Academy of St. Joseph in Troy and assumed the direction of another orphan asylum for boys. That same year, the Sisters of Charity opened a hospital; and in 1852, the Bishop invited the Ladies of the Sacred Heart to Albany where they founded an academy for the higher education of young ladies. The following year another academy was opened in Utica. After a service of seventeen years in the diocese, there were 113 churches, 8 chapels, 85 priests, 15 stu-

dents for the Ministry, 3 academies for boys, 6 orphan asylums and 15 parochial schools."

To show their appreciation of his efforts towards the civil and religious betterment of the city, a public dinner was tendered to him by the most noted citizens, among whom were Governor Seymour, Erastus Corning, Rufus King, Thurlow Weed, Philip Ten Eyck, and some thirty other gentlemen. Their letter is as follows:

ALBANY, *July* 30, 1864

TO THE MOST REVEREND JOHN McCLOSKEY,
ARCHBISHOP OF NEW YORK,

Sir:

We learn that the time approaches when, called by the authority of your Church to a wider sphere of episcopal duty, you are about to leave this city. Permit us to say that your residence of seventeen years with us, has taught us to appreciate a character elevated by noble sentiments, and inspired by Christian charity. It is for others to bear witness to the results of your episcopal labors, the reflected light of which we see in the elevated condition of your people. It is for us to recognize the successful mission of one, who has united in his person the character of a learned prelate and a Christian gentleman, and whose influence in society had been exerted to soothe and tranquillize, to elevate and instruct.

In the newer and higher position to which you have been called, your labors, no doubt, will be equally auspicious, and the regrets we feel at parting with you are restrained by this conviction, and by a sense of

gratification at this mark of the high appreciation in which you are held by your own church.

Actuated by these feelings, we cordially invite you to meet us at dinner, on such day before your departure as you may please to designate.

With feelings of sincere respect and esteem, we are your friends and well wishers,

Horatio Seymour, Peter Gansevoort, S. Van Rensselaer, Erastus Corning, Gideon Hawley, Amasa J. Parker, John V. L. Pruyn, Thurlow Weed, Lucius Robinson, Thomas W. Olcott, John H. Van Antwerp, John Taylor Cooper, R. L. Banks, Henry D. Payne, James Kidd, Charles B. Lansing, S. Oakley Vanderpool, Howard Townsend, Isaac Vanderpool, E. P. Prestice, Ira Harris, Thomas Hun, John Tweddle, C. Comstock, R. W. Peckham, James Edwards, Lansing Pruyn, Franklin Townsend, Rufus H. King, Dexter Reynolds, H. Pumpelly, John K. Porter, H. H. Martin, John D. Van Buren, Hamilton Harris, Charles Van Benthuysen.

The Bishop declined the honor. None doubted his love for the city of which he was admittedly the most distinguished citizen; but with his accustomed modesty, he shrank from any public recognition of the promotion he had received. His letter, in which he declines the invitation, is certainly worthy of a place in his biography:

ALBANY, *August* 3, 1864

HON. HORATIO SEYMOUR, PETER GANSEVOORT, STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER, ERASTUS CORNING, &c., &c.:

Gentlemen:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your much valued favor of the 30th. ult., in which with many expressions of courtesy and kindness, you invite me to meet you at dinner on any day before my departure as I may please to designate. It is exceedingly grateful to me in a moment so full of painful regrets, to receive this testimonial of esteem, from so many of my fellow citizens, who are not only known to me by the high and honorable places which they hold in society, but who have also so long merited and received my sincerest respect for their great personal and private worth, and whose good opinion I have a right to prize. Nothing could give me greater pleasure than to be able to accept your flattering invitation, but the time remaining to me is so brief, and my occupations so urgent, that with much reluctance I must beg to decline.

You will allow me, however, to profit by the occasion which thus opportunely presents itself, of making my best and warmest acknowledgements for all the courtesy and kindness, for all the tokens of generosity and esteem which I have so amply received from my fellow-citizens of Albany, without distinction of party or creed, from the very first moment of my coming among them until now. And be assured that the sentiments of gratitude which all this inspires are fully shared by the Catholic community — clergy as well as laity — of whom I have been the honored

though unworthy representative. The relations of harmony and good-will, which I have sought ever to cultivate and promote and which so happily exist between us, will continue, I trust, to grow and strengthen, even as the grateful remembrance of them will by me be only the more warmly cherished by reason of the separation which has to take place.

Be pleased, gentlemen, to receive collectively and individually, my best wishes for both your temporal and eternal welfare, and the assurances of highest regard and esteem, with which I have the honor to be

Your most obedient servant,

✠ John McCloskey

Bishop of Albany, Archbishop-elect of N. Y.

Before his departure from the city, the clergy of the Diocese met at the episcopal residence and presented him with the address which follows:

Right Reverend and dear Bishop:

We realize today the sad truth that we are assembled to address you for the last time with the title of Bishop. Whilst the eyes of the hierarchy were turned towards you, as the successor of the illustrious Archbishop Hughes; and the people, too, as once they placed an Ambrose in Milan, and a Peter Damien in Ravenna, speak of you as most worthy to govern the important diocese of New York, we, the clergy of your diocese, were trembling at this unison in your regard, of the voice of the people with the voice of God. Our long years of experience of your enlightened and gentle guidance, and our knowledge of your eminent fitness

for any position to which you might be called only served to increase our fear that an end had come to your peaceful and prosperous reign among us. Knowing how dear you have been, and ever must be, to the clergy of that diocese, you will appreciate, now that the decision has been made, the expression of our heartfelt sorrow at parting from you. It is hard to be separated from one we highly esteem and dearly love — hard to break the ties that have bound us to you for so many years. Priests as we are, making and always preparing to make sacrifices, we bow in submission to the Holy Father, whose command alone could have taken you from us. Pius the Ninth, in calling you to the See of New York, has only made known to the world the prudence and wisdom of your beneficent administration which has been for years our happiness and our pride. And yet the more we think of the brilliant future opening before you, the more we are made to regret the separation that must soon take place. Your elevation to the Archiepiscopal See of New York, the metropolis of our Empire State and of our country — as important and as responsible a See as there is in the world — the high appreciation in which you are held by the clergy and laity, and by all your fellow citizens, for even those who are not our brethren in the faith, have felt and expressed with us a pride that Albany possessed so distinguished a prelate, the thousand welcomes that will greet Your Grace's arrival only make us feel more and more how much others gain and how much we lose. It is, however, some consolation to know that you are not called far away from us — that you will preside over a diocese

with which you have so many hallowed associations, and with which your present diocese claims an old and intimate relationship. The mitre of a Dubois and of a Hughes will lose none of its lustre on the brow of Albany's first bishop. It is, Right Reverend Father, in the recollection of nearly all of us, that, when you took possession of this See, there were but few churches and fewer priests. How great the change! Ever since, you have been all to us — our bishop, our father, our counsellor, our best friend. Your noble cathedral, with its surrounding religious and literary institutions; the grand and beautiful churches erected under your patronage, and with your assistance; the religious communities, introduced and fostered by your care and all now flourishing with academies and schools; your clergy numbering nearly one hundred, and by their unison and zeal reflecting some of your own spirit — all tell of your apostolic work here, and all how difficult it is for us to say farewell.

We know the joy occasioned throughout the province by your selection, and how it was hailed with delight. We know that you are about to enter upon a career of higher duties and of greater responsibilities. We know, too, how warmly hearts beat for you in your new and more exalted sphere; but, dear Bishop, none will esteem you more, none will love you better than those who now address you in accents more of sorrow than of congratulation. You have passed amongst us seventeen years of episcopal administration. You go from us leaving behind you throughout this vast diocese monuments of zeal. Even your social intercourse has been marked by a most happy

blending of dignity and affability; and now that the presence which recalls such endearing traits, is to be no longer amongst us, may we not with a sort of filial piety, ask and procure your portrait, not so much for ourselves, who have gazed so long on the original that it can never be obliterated from our minds, as for those who come after us, that they may see, at least on the canvass the lineaments of him whose name will be handed down and ever gratefully remembered as the illustrious founder of our diocese? Permit us also to present you a metropolitan cross to be carried before you as the privilege of your office. The gift will remind you of your clergy in Albany, where we hope to see you often grace our most solemn ceremonies. We have also asked, what you have so graciously granted, the honor of your presence here today, where, perhaps for the last time, we meet as bishop and priests for the interchange of feelings. You have thus given us an occasion to express our gratitude for the past, when, in a weakness that may be now pardoned, we envy those who are henceforth to take our places in your especial care. They will permit us even in this sad hour to send our greetings and tell them to prize the treasure they now receive:—A bishop adorned with the virtues and graces of wisdom, full of modesty, occupied only with the care of sanctifying the people and perfecting the clergy, giving them himself on every occasion an example of edifying zeal and shining piety. With them, we will pray God to bless you with length of days and renewed strength for the career of glorious work upon which you are about to enter.

Father Conroy, who was to be his successor in the See of Albany, then presented him with his portrait, cross and ring, and a purse of four thousand dollars. The archbishop was overcome with emotion as he rose to reply to this affectionate farewell from his priests. He spoke of the disinterestedness of their zeal, of their love of the Church of God and for himself, their shepherd, and of how they had willingly coöperated with him in every work undertaken for the honor and glory of God. It was no desire of his, he said, to leave them, but the same voice which had called him to Albany seventeen years before, had again spoken, and it had to be obeyed. To him the desire of the Holy Father was paramount. He was entering upon the newer and higher position with fear and trembling, but none shared his misgivings, and many there were who felt that the Hand of Providence had been directing him all through life and preparing him for an honor which he could never share with another — that of becoming America's first Cardinal.

CHAPTER VII

SECOND ARCHBISHOP OF NEW YORK (1864–1875)

Arrival of Archbishop McCloskey in New York. Solemn Installation in St. Patrick's Cathedral. His First Sermon. Public Reception. The New Cathedral. Foundation of the Provincial Seminary at Troy. The Archbishop and the Jesuits. Recruiting the Faculty. The Second Plenary Council (1866). Archbishop McCloskey's Opening Sermon. The Fenian Brotherhood. The Vatican Council. The Archbishop at Rome. The Question of Papal Infallibility. Solemn Dedication of the Diocese of New York to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Thirtieth Anniversary of His Consecration. Voyage to Europe (1874).

ARCHBISHOP McCLOSKEY left Albany by the night boat on August 6, 1864, accompanied by the future Bishop Conroy, and arrived at New York the following morning, where he was met by his secretary, Father McNierny. It is a fact worthy of notice that as they stood talking on the steamer dock, quite unconsciously to the three of them, they were the first three Bishops of Albany. Father Conroy became its episcopal head on July 7, 1865, and Father McNierny was appointed his Coadjutor on December 22, 1871. They went to the archiepiscopal residence, then at 218 Madison Avenue, New York City, where the archbishop celebrated

Mass at half past nine. A singular incident occurred shortly afterwards. His *Diary* tells us the story:

"When he came down stairs after Mass, some one told him that there was a woman in the hall, who said she was the mother of the new Archbishop of N. Y. She had brought her trunk with her and proposed to stay. There was no priest in the house, so the Archbishop interviewed her himself. She said she was the mother of the new archbishop and proposed to stay with him. 'But,' he said, 'I am the new archbishop and you are not my mother.' 'I know,' she said, 'but you are not the new archbishop, you are the Bishop of Albany; is not that enough for you?' The archbishop had to send for a policeman.

"Meanwhile she locked herself in the reception room, and refused to open the door. When the policeman came he was obliged to enter the room through the balcony window of the reception room. She was taken to the station-house, where the archbishop had to go to make a charge against her. When he entered the place, the official in charge told him what the woman had stated, adding that she told a very straight story for a crazy person. She was then called up from the cell below where she was kept, and repeated her story: that she was the mother of the new archbishop, etc. The archbishop then made his statement how she had introduced herself into the house and had refused to leave: after which he turned to go — whereupon she cried after him: 'Are you going to leave me with these rascals. They attempted to ruin me, etc., etc.' The

archbishop turning to the now indignant official, said: 'she tells a very straight story,' and left."

On August 27, the solemn installation of the new archbishop took place in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Mott Street, New York. The text of his first sermon in his new capacity is the keynote to his administration in the archdiocese during the twenty years he was its metropolitan: *Peace be to you.* Never had he been given to controversy, either in speech or in print, and knowing the spirit of the times as well as he did, he realized that the bitter ante-bellum controversies were out of the question. There had been a species of the former anti-Catholic feeling at certain epochs of the Civil War; it had been said openly here and there that after the South had surrendered, the next enemy to attack would be the Catholic Church. But the War brought Catholics and Protestants together in a way that nothing else could have done. When peace came, the blood that had been shed by Catholics in both the warring armies had fallen upon the soil and brought forth the flowers of a better understanding and a steadier appreciation of the faith they held.

His sermon on this auspicious occasion was as follows:

"*Pax vobis.* Peace be with you! My brethren, in what way can I better present to you my warmest and sincerest greeting on this occasion, so full of sacred and solemn interest to us all? In what better words than those coming from the lips of our Blessed Lord and Master Himself: *Peace be to you?* This

was the gentle salutation which He addressed to His Apostles on His first appearance among them after His resurrection. These were the words in which he sought to allay their fears, to dispell their anxieties and doubts, to stimulate their courage and to revive their drooping confidence and hope. It was their first joyful meeting after the sorrows of Calvary, and doubtless at that moment His Divine heart was overflowing with tenderness and love for all. Doubtless, too, He desired much to give them a full and earnest assurance of the sentiments of affection and kindness and of good-will which filled His breast. And yet the experiences of His emotion seemed to find no other utterance than in these few simple words: *Peace be to you.* All was there, all was expressed in that — that comprehended all.

"And now, beloved brethren, on this day, when I appear before you for the first time in the new and changed relations as the bishop and pastor of your souls; now, at our first meeting since the sorrows of a great and common bereavement; now, since, for me at least, the sacrifice of separation — separation from the diocese, from the clergy and from the laity whom I so long fondly cherished; now, that this painful sacrifice is consummated and a new alliance made and confirmed by the highest and the holiest sanction, this day solemnly ratified; now that, from henceforth until the end, our sympathies are to become so closely intertwined and interwoven; now that our spiritual interests are so nearly blended and linked together; our destinies, it may be, even for time and for eternity so intimately united, what

can I more desire than to pour out to you, if it were possible, the whole abundance of my heart; to speak to you words of encouragement and hope; to wish for you every blessing and every good; and will I not have said it all when I repeat the words of our Blessed Lord and Saviour: *Pax vobis*. Peace be to you. The peace indeed, not such as the world gives, or such as the world can take away, but the Saviour's peace — the peace of God, which surpasseth all understanding — the peace which endureth forever.

"It has been with you, beloved brethren, even as it was with the Apostles on the Resurrection night. Your hearts were sad and troubled. The prelate whom you had revered so highly, the father whom you had loved so long and so well, was taken from you; the joy of your eye and the pride of your heart had departed; shadows had fallen upon your path; you felt that you had been left orphans; the shining light of the sanctuary was extinguished; the Holy of Holies was encompassed with the gloom of mourning; this church and See of New York sat widowed and desolate, for her great and good archbishop was no more.

"But now the scene is changed. The Church is holding high festival; high and even gracious festival, for the pall of sorrow which had so long enveloped her altar has disappeared; the garment of her widowhood has been laid aside, while she celebrates this day, even with great pomp and splendor, her new nuptials. Today she received another spouse, and in receiving to herself a spouse, she gives to you another father; and she, too, bids you lift up your heads in confidence and hope; she, too, solicits you with the sweet and

blessed words of peace, and from her altar she has already said to you: *Pax vobis*. Peace be to you.

"But the father who is sent to you, and who comes to you this day, knows full well that he can never fill the high seat that he has been elected to as it was filled before; still less can he fill the void that has been created in your hearts. He knows full well that he cannot bring to you the same high gifts and endowments, neither the same great intellect, nor the same force and ascendency of character, nor the same wisdom, nor the same commanding power of eloquence as his predecessor. All he can bring you is a heart full of tenderness, full of zeal and devotion to your spiritual welfare, and full of solicitude for all your best and dearest interests — the sanctification and salvation of your immortal souls.

"So then it is for me in this hour, conscious of my own inefficiency, to ask the return of the peaceful salutation with which I greeted you, from your souls. There is no heart at this moment stands so much in need of sympathy and encouragement as my own; for I do not conceal from you the anxieties, and the fears, and the solicitudes, and the cares which already oppress me. Would that the task had fallen on some one more able! Would that some one had been chosen who could better reflect the dignity and the lustre which so long adorned this archiepiscopal throne, some one more deserving of the exalted honor; that it had fallen on some one's shoulders stronger to bear the heavy yet sacred burden. As it is, I have bowed my head in submission simply to the will of him in whose voice I recognize no other than the voice of

Peter, and in the voice of Peter I recognize the voice of Christ. I come with the prayer of Solomon on my lips: Thou hast shewn great mercy to Thy servant David, my father, even as he walked before Thee in truth and justice, and an upright heart with Thee: . . . and Thou hast given him a son to sit on his throne: . . . and I am but a child, and know not how to go out and how to come in: I am in the midst of a people whom Thou hast chosen, an immense people, which cannot be numbered nor counted for multitude. Give, therefore, to Thy servant, an understanding heart, to judge Thy people, and discern between good and evil.

"Give to me, O Lord, wisdom from Thy holy heaven, and from the throne of Thy Majesty above, give me wisdom that will teach all that is pleasing and acceptable in Thy sight. It is in the spirit of hope and confidence in Him to whom we appeal that we find courage and strength. Does not faith teach us, and has not the whole history of the Church confirmed it from the beginning, that God is oftentimes pleased to employ the humblest and the feeblest instruments for the accomplishment of His wise and gracious designs? Has He not raised up the poor and needy of the earth, and seated them with the princes — even with the princes of His people? Has He not chosen the weak thing to confound the strong, and the simple thing to confound the proud, and the little things and the mean things, and the things that are not, that He may confound the things that are, that no flesh may glory in His sight? Has He not said to those whom He sent: 'Ye have not chosen

me, but I have chosen you. You go not to teach your own doctrines, but to teach whatever I have commanded you, not to do your own will but to do mine, to carry out the work which I have intrusted to you. Teaching men to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, so I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the earth.'

"What, then, though a mighty man has fallen among you? Is he not able from the very stones of the earth to raise up children to Abraham? What though the Pope himself, like all other men, pays the debt of human nature? In his own beautiful words 'Simon dies, but Peter lives.' The man dies, but the Vicar of Christ still lives. Bishops may die, priests may die, apostles and teachers of the Church, great in their day, may die, but the Church remains. The hierarchy remains. The infallible authority remains. Her immortal life and durability remain. Human institutions may change and even perish, but she changes not; her constitution is eternal; she is in the world, but not of the world; she is in the world, but neither flatters its caprices nor fears its frowns; she is there in good report and evil report, in honor and in dishonor, in affliction and in joy, in humiliation and in triumph; she is there ever courageous and confident, pursuing her way, fulfilling her mission, a mission of truth and of justice, of mercy and of peace.

"We find consolation and strength for each one of our fears, and in the assurance that our insufficiencies will be supplied by the counsels of the good and the experience of matured wisdom, which will be sought, and doubtless will be freely given, by our venerable

brethren of the episcopate, especially of this great province. The earnest of it has been already given, as shown in their alacrity to be present here at the ceremony of this day, to do us honor, and to do you honor also.

"And for this I may be permitted in your name and in my own, to return my most sincere and grateful thanks, thanks also to the illustrious Archbishop of Baltimore, who has come here to honor and to grace this festival; thanks to him from me and from you also. But it is to you, beloved brethren, that I must especially turn for confidence and support. You are the arm of episcopal authority; you are the auxiliaries and coöperators with the bishop in the great work of the ministry of God's Church. You bear the heat and burden of the day. Every hour of the day and night, at all times and in all seasons, you go with alacrity wherever there is a poor sinner to be counselled, or a poor soul to be saved. You are not strangers to your new bishop; he is not a stranger to you. Already I well know your tried fidelity and zeal, and he only asks now of you this day that confidence in him and that respect for him which in the past you have shown to his predecessor.

"It is sweet and pleasant to see brethren live in unity. And it is this renewed confidence and respect which insures and maintains this unity, possessing which we need not fear. In unity we shall find strength and consolation, we shall find glory and peace. Separated from this unity you are as leafless branches that cannot bring forth good fruit. Separated from this unity, you cannot hope effectually

to resist the dangerous doctrines, the adopted errors and gross fallacies that everywhere abound at this day. Without that unity, in a word, you can hardly hope to hold your footing in the torrent which is sweeping along so fearfully and so furiously, and which is hurrying thousands and thousands of souls into the fatal abyss of infidelity, of scepticism, of doubt and despair.

"A great inheritance has been given to us. He who has gone before us has done much. He raised the Church in this diocese and in this city to a bright and glorious position through the coöperation of faithful priests. We must see that this inheritance shall not fail in our hands; we must see that we shall transmit it not only unimpaired, but in increased honor and usefulness to our successors; we must see that what has been done shall be preserved.

"The institutions already erected we must sustain, the foundations that have been laid broad indeed, we must build up; we must continue the work; we must go on improving and increasing and adding to the number of clergy, adding to the number of our churches, and to the charitable and religious institutions which flourish under it. We must go on laboring for the good, the honor and the glory of God's immortal Church.

"To you, beloved lay brethren, let me address a few concluding words. Coming among you I do not feel that I come as a stranger. I am returning to friends very many of whom I knew before, who enjoyed my respect and my esteem, and from whom I hope to receive some of that love and devotion which they

felt for my venerable predecessor. I am returning to scenes which are dear and familiar to me. It was here that on my boyish head the good archbishop laid his hands and blessed me. It was here that the venerable Dubois raised me to the dignity of the holy priesthood, and it was at the altar of this Cathedral that I celebrated my first Mass. It was at this altar that I knelt to receive from the hands of my illustrious predecessor the consecration which made me his coadjutor. And though I have been parted from you for a time, I am called back to continue his work; and will I not find the same willing hands, the same cheerful hearts, the same united faith and Catholic piety, to cheer and sustain and carry me onward? I do not, I cannot, doubt it. Beloved brethren, to your pastors, for the unity that has united us, much is due. My prayer for unity appeals to you, for it is in the unity of the people with the pastor, the pastors with the bishops, the episcopate with the great, supreme head of the Church, and he with Peter, and through Peter with Christ, that the bonds which hold us together as one holy and immortal Church are found.

"Let us return thanks to God, who has made us so great and glorious as a Church. Let us beg of Him that we may be true to its teachings and faithful to its guidance, and that through it we may secure the hope of being one day led into the kingdom of Heaven.

"And now, having been sent to bless, it is right that I should call down a blessing from the Father of Life, from whom every good and perfect gift descends. Bless, bless, oh! Lord, the bishop of Thy church; bless

the pastors and bless the flock; bless the pastor that he may guide them in the ways of truth and justice and of righteousness; bless the clergy, that they may be the ornament and glory of Thy sanctuary, that they may be to their bishop his joy and crown of delight; bless the religious communities established throughout this diocese, that the blessings that they are distributing to others may more and more abound on every side; bless the fathers and bless the mothers, bless the brothers and bless the daughters, bless the young and bless the old; bless the poor and bless the rich; bless the sick and infirm as well as those who are in health and vigor of life; bless the magistrate and bless the citizen; bless the soldier and bless this province, bless us all, for we have need of Thy blessing. And thou, oh most blessed and immaculate Virgin and Mother of our Lord, it is under thy protection we seek to place ourselves, under thy auspices we confidingly trust ourselves for the fulfillment of the great task committed to us this day. The Church throughout the world celebrates with glory and pomp the festival of this day. Watch over us, O Lord, and protect us from all evil, shield us from all danger and conduct us to the Kingdom of Thy Son.

"And thou, too, oh glorious apostle, the patron of this Cathedral, glorious St. Patrick, whose name is so dear to many thousands and thousands of faithful hearts, whose name is the synonym of unshrinking faith, of generous devotedness, of heroic courage, of unyielding zeal, thou, too, bless thy people and make them worthy of that faith which they have inherited from thee. Let them never bring disgrace upon thy

memory or dishonor on thy name. Bless and pray for them. Pray for us you priests and confessors, you martyrs and holy saints of God, that emulating your example and walking in your footsteps here, we may be deemed worthy to participate in the glory and joy everlasting which is yours in the kingdom of Heaven for all eternity."

Archbishop McCloskey was providentially chosen to lead the Catholics of New York State and of New England. His predecessor had fought the good fight for Christ and had left an impress upon the Catholic life of the country which could never be forgotten. Archbishop Hughes was indeed one of the greatest men of his age. A good Christian, an eloquent speaker, a profound scholar, and a patriotic citizen; "one who loved his adopted country dearly and whose greatest earthly ambition, next to his religion, was to see her the noblest, most powerful, most united, as she is the first, nation on the globe. In him America lost a true citizen and the Church an able defender and pious Divine." He had sown the seed of a rich harvest, which his great friend and successor in the See of New York was not only to reap but to increase by his gentleness, his warmth of brotherly affection for all its citizens, Catholic and non-Catholic, and by his modest attractive spirit of conciliation.

There were "rifts within the lute" here and there, when he assumed the burden of his new position, and the one thing necessary at the time was peace and harmony. We have an echo of this feeling in the public reception given to him some months after his

installation, on November 7, 1864. Charles O'Conor, who publicly declared that the Cardinal was the most prudent man he had ever met, was then the most distinguished member of the New York Bar, and the leader of the Catholic laity of the city. He was chosen to be the host, and some days before the reception and banquet, he wrote to the archbishop:

Most Reverend Dear Sir:

I presume there will be no speaking except my introduction to a toast and your response. I deem it proper to send you a copy of my very brief observations.

If there be anything not right in them please to note it and let your messenger put your letter in the letter box of my house, No. 6, La Fayette Place — at the side of the door.

With great esteem,

Yours truly,

CH. O'CONOR

ARCHBISHOP MCCLOSKEY.

The toast which Mr. O'Conor gave on that occasion is thus preserved in his own handwriting:

"*Gentlemen:* — We are assembled to testify our gratitude to the Ruler of all things and under Him to the Holy Father and his sacred council, for the provident care bestowed upon us in supplying the place on earth of our late lamented and illustrious archbishop. The tears in which human feelings compelled us to indulge upon our great bereavement have had their day; the relieved heart has sought and ob-

tained its consolation in believing that the guardianship of that revered prelate is not withdrawn from us. Henceforth he is an intercessor for us before the throne of God.

"For chief pastor of this archdiocese, the foremost of all America in population and social influence, there has been granted to us a prelate born among us and who is well and intimately known to us. He is one whose whole life has been marked by those qualities which proclaim the faithful priest and the Christian gentleman. The Church does not seek mere human applause for her acts. Nor should we presume to express our approval of her wisdom in this instance. That wisdom was vouchsafed by her Heavenly Father and she could not have acted otherwise than in conformity to its dictates. But it is allowed to us, it is fit and becoming in us, even in this festive and somewhat worldly way to manifest our joy that the wise judgment of our Holy Church has led to a selection which coincided so perfectly with our own fervent hopes and wishes. Therefore my friends, let us unite in the sentiment to which, in your name, as well as for myself, I will now give expression.

"His Grace, the Most Reverend John McCloskey, Archbishop of New York, our guide in the faith, a bright example of its benign and elevating influence. May his days be long in the land."

The Archbishop replied as follows:

"I have no words in which to give any adequate expression of thanks for the complimentary terms in which my name has been presented to you by our

most worthy and respected host, and for the kind and flattering manner in which you, gentlemen, have been pleased to receive it. Although I am conscious that for myself personally I am bound to disclaim all title to the high compliment which has been paid me, still I am permitted to accept it, and do very cordially accept it, both as a compliment and an honor shown not to the individual, but to the sacred character and dignity of the office which he unworthily holds. I accept it besides, and with special gratification, in the further sense and spirit in which I conceive it to have been intended — that is, as a tribute of reverential gratitude and of loyal respect and obedience to the Holy See; as a token of filial regard and affection towards our common father, of whose enlightened wisdom in the government of the universal Church, as well as paternal care and solicitude for this far distant, yet ever faithful, portion of his flock, such graceful and appropriate acknowledgment has been made, and to whose good will and pleasure, in the order of Divine Providence, not to any merit of my own, I must attribute the preferment which has been bestowed upon me.

"How sacred and important is the trust; how manifold and grave the responsibilities which that preferment imposed; no one can know and feel more deeply than myself. It were enough to say that I have been called to succeed that illustrious prelate to whose memory such an affectionate tribute has just now been paid, to be made fully, even painfully, conscious of the magnitude of the task which is set before me; enough to remember that I have become the successor

of Archbishop Hughes, the first, and, as future history will doubtless record, the greatest Archbishop of New York; enough to remember this in order to be convinced not only how far short I must fall of the measure of his goodness, but also of the great disproportion there exists between the weight of the burden imposed and the strength of the shoulders by which it must be carried.

"I am made still more sensible of this by another consideration, which has also been alluded to — the vast population of this great city, in which is fixed the archiepiscopal see; the wide spread extent and force of its influence not only in a social, but, I may add, in a moral and religious point of view. It is true to say that there is hardly a single throb of the mighty heart of this metropolis which is not felt in greater or less degree to the farthest extremity of the vast social body of which it forms the important centre. Hence it may be further assured that whatever, either favorably or unfavorably, affects our Catholic or religious interests here, is likely to affect them favorably or unfavorably throughout the length and breadth of the land; and in this view, gentlemen, not only does a great responsibility rest on me, but on you also. You are sharers therein; for who can doubt the great power for good that can be exerted, if only you are so minded, by the earnest and united efforts of men like you, holding your rank and position in this community."

The first concern of the archbishop was the completion of the new Cathedral. The cornerstone had been laid on August 15, 1858, with what the *New*

York Herald called "one of the grandest ceremonies that was ever witnessed on this continent." Archbishop Hughes, who preached the sermon on that occasion, had praised the generosity of his people and had voiced the sentiments of his archdiocese, when he urged his hearers to work hand-in-hand towards its completion. In speaking of the generosity shown in the building thus far, he said:

"And now, if I should have distinguished between the clergy and laity of my diocese, what shall I have to say? This: That judging from the past, in which the clergy were at all times loyal and one-minded in aiding their unworthy bishop in whatever enterprises he had engaged in, so will they be in all times to come. To them with the powerful coöperation which they will always have from their devoted flocks, I commend this great work, no matter under whose episcopal auspices it may hereafter be carried on. One thing I would say to all, if my voice was strong enough to reach the farthest boundary of this immense multitude, and that is, that this work will require the constancy of strong minds, generous hearts and powerful arms. It is a work which would, if that were possible, be accomplished by the enthusiasm of a single day like the present. But as it is, the prosecution and completion of it will require firmness, determination and unconquerable perseverance. It will require what is essential to every great undertaking, steadiness — steadiness and indomitable resolution, always relying upon the help of God, to see it brought to a perfect consummation. Nor of all of this have I the slightest doubt."

The Civil War (1861–1865) had brought so much distress upon the country that the work of furnishing the cathedral had to be abandoned. Archbishop Hughes died (January 3, 1864) without realizing this dream of his episcopate, and the sentiment of the clergy and laity when peace came was that the great work begun in the mind and heart of John Hughes should be pushed rapidly towards completion. In this respect, the appointment of Archbishop McCloskey was especially fortunate. "To his perseverance, financial ability, high intelligence, and refined taste is due the completion of the work in a manner worthy of the great mind that had inaugurated it." As soon as the War was over, Archbishop McCloskey began reorganizing the projects for the completion of the cathedral. We find him announcing on December 27, 1864, to Archbishop Spalding: "I must also first get the new Subscription List for our Cathedral fairly started." During the next fifteen years he labored assiduously at this work, and as will be seen, St. Patrick's Cathedral was formally opened and blessed on May 25, 1879. That the work lay near his heart is evident from the many references scattered throughout his voluminous correspondence with Archbishop Spalding. On May 21, 1865, he writes: "And now to my other burden is added the most delectable one of begging for the new Cathedral. This claims every leisure moment, and a great deal more." Five months later, however, the task was beginning to tax his patience. "I leave this afternoon, to be absent eight or ten days on my visitation; on my return I shall have to resume the unpleasant work of col-

lecting for the new Cathedral," he writes on October 25, 1865.

In the letters which passed between Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston, who was then in Brussels, and the archbishop, there is one note struck constantly which shows the anxiety both shared for the seminary. Bishop Fitzpatrick was then busily recruiting professors in Belgium, and in all his letters, he appeals to the future Cardinal to accept the great burden of the New York Archdiocese, especially on account of the good that he, and he alone, could do for the education of the clergy.

One of these letters deserves to be given a place here:

BRUSSELS, *June* 15, 1864

Rt. Rev. and dear friend:

I learned with great satisfaction, a few weeks ago, from Cardinal Barnabo, that the New York question was settled, and that you were sent there. It is not that I am without compassion for you or that I underrate the burden that is transferred to your shoulders. But I am convinced in my conscience the good of the Church demanded this instead of other changes that might have been made, and in this sense I wrote to the Cardinal soon after the death of the archbishop. I gave in great detail the reasons upon which my judgment was grounded without, however, saying a word against any one else. I still firmly believe that I was right and I thank God for what has been done. May we not also hope that your task will be less crushing than might appear at first sight.

At Albany everything bore directly upon you, and you had constantly to tug hard, with scarcely any breathing time. I hope that at New York you may divide the burden with many, and leaving the temporals as they have stood or almost so, confine yourself to the "haute direction," and to the immediate care of the clergy. Let us trust in God, look forward to good times, and be cheerful. It is time to make immediate preparations for the opening of the seminary. I trust all the Bishops are ready to act with vigor in the cause. I have written to Boston that all seminary students, those who enter philosophy included, are to go to Troy. We must try to have at least 50 students for a respectable beginning. I send you a sheet containing some propositions on the part of Mr. Vandenhende to which I have assented. They are not, however, immutable. The young men who have volunteered to come with him are really the flower of the rising clergy in Belgium, and everybody is at a loss to understand the conduct of the good Bishop of Ghent in giving away such treasures. You will understand it. He is a true bishop and his big heart takes in the whole Church. I have not failed to see him from time to time and to talk over with him the enterprise which I sincerely think one of incalculable greatness. Some four or five of my friends at home are talking of dividing amongst themselves my expenses here in Europe. For this reason and also to keep my personal affairs separate from those of the diocese, I shall not draw here the sum necessary to send out the professors. So large a sum added to my own outlay might scare away my aforesaid

friends from their good intention which has been whispered to me by Healy. And, very probably, if they didn't pay all, they would not offer to pay even a part. For this reason I have directed Mr. Williams to hold himself in readiness to meet any demand you may make on him for my share in the remittance to be made for their expenses. A draft should be sent to the Bishop of Ghent and it is time to attend to it now as they wish to leave in the beginning of August. Please see to it.

My own health is in several respects improving; especially the heart, but there is still great debility in the body and legs. Last Pentecost, I undertook to walk in procession at one of the churches of the Premonstratensians in whose house I have spent a week, but I could not for the life of me get through and had to desert from the ranks. Still, I must go home and shall very soon, most likely before the people for the seminary start. At the latest with them.

Please give my best respects to Rev. Mr. Starrs and to Conroy and your own clergy. Hoping very soon to be with you and even to give you some cheer, if spare time come again,

I am,

Very affectionately,

Your Bro. in Xt.,

✠ J. B. F.

Rt. Rev. Dr. McCloskey.

The seminary up to this time had not reached that point of success which could be legitimately expected. In 1846, Archbishop Hughes placed the two institu-

tions — St. John's College and St. Joseph's Seminary — at Fordham, under the care of the Society of Jesus. The negotiations were carried on with the Superior of the Jesuits in Canada, Father Clement Boulanger. Father Augustus Thébaud, S.J., was made Rector of both the college and the seminary.

In the year 1844–5, Archbishop Hughes applied to the Regents of the University to have St. John's College incorporated. The law required as a preliminary, that the property should amount in value to the sum of one hundred thousand dollars. The testimony of disinterested parties in the neighborhood was solicited, and by their evidence, the Regents were assured that the property of the college, including at that time the unfinished buildings of the church and seminary, was worth one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. The Regents were satisfied and gave notice to the archbishop of their next meeting in Albany. They invited him to attend, and even signified that there was no difficulty in the way of obtaining the charter which had been solicited. He proceeded or was about to proceed to Albany for the purpose, but was disappointed by arriving at the wharf two or three minutes after the steamboat had sailed. The matter was then lost sight of, until there should be another meeting of the Regents. In the meantime, many reasons presented themselves to the mind of Archbishop Hughes, rendering it desirable that the purposes for which the college had been founded, should be undertaken, and would be best carried out, by a religious community. Hence, in the autumn of that year, he wrote submitting the question for consideration to one of the Jesuit

Fathers of Kentucky. The consequence was, that their Superior accompanied by another Father, came on to visit the place, and to satisfy himself as to the reality of the facts and circumstances set forth in the archbishop's letter.

It was also mutually understood by Archbishop Hughes and the Jesuits that they had been invited to the diocese exclusively for that work of Catholic education; that is — to use the words of the archbishop's memorandum — "they were not invited for the purpose of missionary duties, although they might have incidentally a great opportunity of promoting the works of the mission." The archbishop wished to place under their charge the education of the Catholic youth of both the city and the diocese — indeed, of Catholic youth generally. He, therefore, proposed to them that they should take charge of that education, through the medium of grammar schools, as well as at Fordham; and as an encouragement he offered them a church, the only one then at his disposal, under certain conditions. It was to be the religious home of such Fathers as might be engaged in the work of teaching. This proposition was accepted by the Society, but subsequently, owing to the very strict laws which prevail in their community, the Jesuits declined the offer of the church, because it was found to be in debt. They then agreed to purchase a church and the previous arrangement was carried out, until this Church of the Holy Name, as it was called, was burned down on January 22, 1848.

The Society of Jesus had always been held in esteem and affection in the United States, and shortly after

the purchase of this church, their friends and well-wishers began to show their practical generosity by gifts and donations. The acceptance of these gifts of money and church ornaments was considered by Archbishop Hughes as a quasi-violation of the original contract. After the destruction of the church, the Jesuits applied to him for permission to collect money throughout the diocese, in order to rebuild the church. This permission was promptly and willingly given. The methods of collecting were systematic and thorough; but unfortunately, one of their number made certain misleading references to their situation at St. John's College, Fordham; and besides, the collection interfered with a project the archbishop had of appealing to the Catholics for the Sisters of Mercy.

The difficulties now increased. The building of the new church was for some reason delayed, even after the money had been collected. In 1850, the Society purchased the present property of the Church and College of St. Francis Xavier, on Sixteenth Street. The new church was solemnly dedicated by the archbishop, on July 6, 1857. Other difficulties crept in on the matter of ecclesiastical discipline, in which both sides honorably disagreed. The mutual relations between the Society and the Ordinaries of the diocese in which they labored were not definitely settled by the Canon Law of the time. Permanent relations between bishops and religious orders had not yet been decided by the Holy See, but they were strangely enough settled through a similar conflict of jurisdiction and privilege some twenty years later, when Cardinal Vaughan, then

Bishop of Salford brought the matter to the attention of the Roman authorities. Archbishop Hughes died without these matters reaching a final settlement, and it was with no reflection upon his honorable attempt to master the whole situation in his own characteristic way that his successor immediately set about to effect a peaceful solution. The following letter from the general of the Society of Jesus, Father Pierre-Jean Beckx, shows clearly how swiftly and accurately Archbishop McCloskey had settled a difficulty of twenty years' standing:

ROME, 14 *Janvier*, 1865

Monseigneur:

Je viens d'apprendre par les PP. Tellier et Loysane, que Votre Grâce a signé, aussitôt qu'il Lui a été présenté, le contrat, par lequel Elle cède sans restriction au Collège St. François Xavier les lots sur la 16 rue, et l'église qui y est bâtie, et dans la 19 rue deux autres lots, sur lesquels est construite l'école primaire des garçons.

Dans le dernier temps de son épiscopat Monseigneur Hughes avait arrêté le projet de nous faire cette cession: la mort ne lui permit pas de l'exécuter. Nous n'étions pas sans crainte pour l'avenir; mais le Seigneur veillait sur nous. Il nous l'a prouvé en choisissant pour le siège *Metropolitan* de New York un Prélat selon Son cœur, et qui nous porte une affection paternelle. A peine en effet êtes-Vous entré, Monseigneur, en possession des biens ecclésiastiques du Diocèse que Vous avez manifesté la résolution de conclure l'affaire commencée sous Votre Prédécesseur. Cet empressement double le bienfait.

Daignez donc, Monseigneur, agréer avec toute ma reconnaissance celle de nos religieux de New York et de la Compagnie toute entière. Nous conjurerons le Dieu riche en miséricorde de Vous rendre au centuple le bien, que Vous nous avez fait, et que nous sommes dans l'impuissance de reconnaître autrement, que par nos prières et par un redoublement d'ardeur pour seconder Votre zêle apostolique.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monseigneur, avec une profonde vénération, de Votre Grâce, le très humble et reconnaissant Serviteur,

PIERRE BECKX,
Pr. Général de la Comp. de Jésus

A SA GRACE MGR. McCLOSKEY, ARCHÉVÊQUE DE NEW YORK.

Another letter from the Provincial of the Jesuits in France, dated Amiens, February 13, 1865, also hints that Archbishop Hughes was desirous of a settlement before his death. Certainly, no ecclesiastical superior could have failed to be touched deeply by the spirit of Father Mestian's letter, which we give here in the original; and coming to the peace-loving heart of such a prelate, it must have effaced completely whatever remembrances of an unpleasant nature still remained:

Monseigneur:

Tout ce que le P. Tellier m'écrit de Votre bonté pour nos Pères de New York et de Fordham, me fait un devoir de Vous en témoigner notre vive gratitude, puisque notre Province de Champagne a l'avantage de travailler au salut des âmes dans Votre diocèse.

Je dois remercier en particulier Votre Grandeur de ses libéralités envers le Collège de St. François Xavier. J'ai la confiance que nos Pères n'oublieront jamais la générosité avec laquelle Vous avez exécuté les intentions de feu Msgr. Hughes. Que le Seigneur daigne nous accorder cette grâce; que l'Église et le Collège soient toujours pour Votre grandeur un sujet de consolation par le dévouement de nos Pères à tous leurs devoirs et par le bien qu'ils opéreront pour la plus grande gloire de Dieu. Que si nous venons à broncher quelquefois et à commettre quelque faute dans l'accomplissement de nos nombreux ministères, je prie humblement Votre Grandeur de vouloir bien nous la pardonner et de nous aider miséricordieusement à la réparer. Vous acquérrez ainsi un nouveau titre à notre reconnaissance et une nouvelle part aux Saints Sacrifices et prières de notre Province et de toute la Compagnie.

Daignez agréer, Monseigneur, les hommages bien respectueux de Votre humble serviteur,

P. Mestian, S.J.,
Provincial

It was during this conflict of jurisdiction (1846–1865) that the Society of Jesus was relieved of further charge of St. Joseph's Seminary (1856), and the work of instruction placed in the hands of secular priests. It soon became apparent that this arrangement could not last and for reasons that were obvious at the time, Archbishop Hughes thought it prudent to remove the seminary from the vicinity of St. John's College. The seminary was practically closed in 1862, and

that same year, the possibility to start a new seminary presented itself.

"The Troy University, founded in the 'fifties by the Methodists, failed through maladministration in 1860, and its main building, the only one then erected, was privately offered for sale by the trustees, with its forty acres of ground, to save it from falling under the hammer of the auctioneer. The structure alone had cost about $192,000 while the land had been donated to the corporation by several citizens of Troy who reserved a right to free scholarships for future students in their families. Here was an opportunity which did not escape the practical eye of the Rev. Peter Havermans, pastor of St. Mary's Church, Troy. He reported the situation to the Archbishop of New York, and with the latter's approval and aid he purchased the abandoned university for the sum of $60,000 in the depreciated currency of the time, — a bargain indeed."

In order to procure the necessary faculty of professors, Archbishop Hughes decided to appeal to European centres of education for help. At his request, Bishop McCloskey and Bishop Fitzpatrick went to Europe in 1863. They first approached the Sulpicians of Paris, to whom they carried the following letter from Archbishop Hughes, dated New York, December 17, 1862:

Monsieur le Supérieur:

I write to you on a subject, which is very important to my diocese of New York, and to our whole ecclesiastical province. And it may, hereafter, become very important to the Society of St. Sulpice, if they should

be willing to undertake the ecclesiastical training of the future priests of this province.

I have purchased a large property in the centre of the city of Troy for a provincial clerical seminary. I think all our bishops, and myself at their head, would desire earnestly that the Sulpicians should take charge of it from the beginning. The city being called Troy, its people were fain to have their Mount Ida, a most picturesque and beautiful elevation. The Methodists undertook to erect upon its summit a classical establishment with all the privileges of a University. The building is said to be 300 feet long by 60 feet deep with rooms to accommodate 250 students, besides professors. The building is in good order, not being more than 11 or 12 years erected. There is in the centre a chapel, which will afford accommodation to 600 persons. It is well furnished with every thing except the altar, which the Methodists had no use for.

There is included in the purchase an excellent organ. I am credibly informed that the building cost the Methodists, for its construction alone $197,000. The ground in such a growing city is invaluable. It consists of 32 or 36 acres of land, not much improved indeed, but kept so far as one great lawn surrounding the building. I purchased the whole for $60,000. But it is evident that to fit it for the purpose of your Society, $10,000 would be required.

I am persuaded that the Legislature will grant us all the privileges heretofore granted to the Methodists by way of privileges and legislative enactments.

What I propose then to your Society is that they should take charge of it, with a view to its becoming

as soon as possible their own property, to be held in their own right for the purpose of seminary education in this province. I should be willing to transfer it to them just as I have received it. And if the amount should be too large for them to meet it all at once, they shall have their own time for the payment.

I should be disposed to obtain this winter a charter in favor of myself, the Bishop of Albany, in whose diocese it is, and two priests, under such terms as will allow one or other of us to retire as soon as one of the Sulpicians shall be qualified to take the vacant place as trustee.

The staff of the Sulpicians might be organized from some of your members in Baltimore, who are already citizens of the United States, by some others from Montreal, who speak English and understand the genius of this country, and by some young and suitable clergymen from your headquarters in Paris. The building is large enough to admit of the distinction of "Grand Seminaire" on one side of the chapel and "Petit Seminaire" on the other. And one great advantage would be that in the preparatory seminary it should be required that the students should learn French, in as much as theological works in English are very rare and very imperfect. The standard works, of course, in Latin will be on hand. But a knowledge of French is almost essential in this country to a candidate for the priesthood.

There is one objection, which will probably occur to you. It is that many of the ecclesiastical students of this province are already in the College of St. Charles, Maryland, or in that of Montreal. And it may

appear that by establishing a seminary in the centre of this province, larger, I think, than even that of Montreal, the latter and St. Charles' may have to feel the absence of many students under their care. But this would be only a temporary inconvenience, and, in a short time, St. Charles would be recruited from students in the province of Baltimore, and Montreal, no doubt, would be filled by students from Canada. Thus these three establishments would be in your hands and what might seem to be a diminution of students in one college would be only an increase of their numbers in another of the same Society.

If, however, it should not be in your power to accept this offer, it will be incumbent on us to seek other devoted men to take charge of it, and then there might be a rivalship which I would be glad to see avoided.

It cannot be opened before the month of July. In the meantime, Monsieur le Supérieur, I hope you will have the kindness to let me know, at your earliest convenience whether your venerable Society will be disposed to take charge of it.

I have the honor to be,

Monsieur le Supérieur,

Your very humble and obdt. Servt.

P.S. The position of the new Seminary is very central. It is nearly midway between New York and Montreal, and can be reached in a few hours, by railway from the remotest parts of the province.

The first suspicion he received that the offer was not a welcome one to the Sulpicians came to him in a

letter from the Superior in Baltimore, dated December 22, 1862:

Most Revd. Archbishop:

I have received through your Secretary's kindness, the copy of your letter to our Superior General in Paris, which you have directed him to send to me. I had already noticed your "Official" in the "Metropolitan Record" on the same subject.

I return to your Grace my respectful thanks for your kind attention in communicating to me your actions in the matter in which I must find much interest. But shall I thank you to have raised so high in your "Official" the level and standard to which we have to keep up. In my earnest desire to see the clergy and the facilities for ecclesiastical education multiplied in this country, I wish that many serious obstacles would not oppose the favorable answer which you expect from our Superior. We will pray here that his decision may be for the greater glory of God: he will have grace to determine on so important an affair.

I remain, Most Revd. Archbishop, of Your Grace the very humble and respectful Servant,

JOSEPH PAUL DUBREUL, S.S.

On December 7, 1862, Archbishop Hughes wrote to Bishop McCloskey in reference to these intentions:

My dear Bishop:

By telegram sent last night from Father Havermans, it appears that I am now the owner of what has been called the "Troy University." So be it.

I write this to say that the other bishops of the State may not be able to appreciate, or even comprehend the importance of this transaction. But as to yourself, since I cannot carry the buildings and thirty acres in Troy to New York, I must look to you as the local Father of the establishment that is to be. In the meantime I look to you as my chum and silent partner in the undertaking, especially, and I know that this will please you, that I shall attend to all money matters in the concern. But I must either go to Albany occasionally or you must come to New York, so that we may consult together on what is most likely to promote the honor and glory of God in this new and unforseen transaction.

I see in it an immense hope for the future of this province and of this country.

Archbishop Hughes gives the reason for this desire in a letter written in December, 1862 to Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston:

My dear Bishop:

I have purchased the Troy University with a view of making it the central Seminary of the Province of New York. It is central, indeed, as the Railroad from every Bishop's door concentrates on that point.

My wish is to see it under the management of the Sulpicians — To have a theological department and a preparatory school with the Petit Seminaire of France.

The building has 250 rooms. The grounds altho in the center of the city of Troy, are 36 acres including a magnificent little lake of about a mile in circumference. This lake is from spring water. The build-

ing is in good order, but being a Methodist notion of a University, it is not all what we should like for a Catholic seminary. Still with slight changes it can be adapted to our purpose.

The whole cost to the Methodists was about $200,000. I have bought it for $60,000. The building has been erected some years ago, and is perfectly solid, externally and internally.

My notion is that it will be of great advantage to the province — that if the Sulpicians will take charge of it, almost on any terms, it will become an immense blessing to religion, both in the province and out of it.

The time has come when in many Catholic families there will be aspirations for the priesthood. The bishops will have to encourage these in some cases even when the parents are not able to bear the expense. The Sulpicians will have an opportunity of doing good on a scale which has never been afforded them outside of France. I have written to their Superior in Paris, encouraging him to undertake this great work. Help me along in that hope. You know them and they know you. I do not know where this letter may reach you, but if it should be in Rome I think you will do well to speak to some high authorities, and to obtain a word of approval of the enterprise and of encouragement in the name of the Holy See to the good Sulpicians not to shrink from a proposal by bishops accepting which they can relieve us in this province from much embarrassment in the training of our young priesthood and do an immensity of good to the coming Catholic Church in the United States.

Your sincere brother in Christ,

But as Bishop Gabriels expresses it, "these experienced masters of clerical training did not deem it prudent by the establishment of a third seminary to weaken their already existing establishments in Montreal and Baltimore; and, besides, they did not think that they could successfully govern an institution which had no enclosure and gates; and so they declined the offer."

The bishops then appealed to the Archbishop of Mechlin, Cardinal Sterckx, but he, too, was unwilling to give a staff of professors from the college and seminaries of his diocese. Acting on his advice, they then appealed to the Bishop of Ghent, Louis Joseph Delebecque, who had shown his love for the American missions in his generosity towards the newly founded American College at Louvain (1857). The two prelates were most cordially received and after due reflection Bishop Delebecque agreed to send the following year a sufficient number of professors to form the teaching staff at Troy. This was towards the end of 1863. Bishop Delebeque set to work to fulfil his promise and selected for the new Troy Seminary the following priests of his diocese, being aided in his selection by the Very Rev. John De Neve, Rector of the American College of Louvain: — the Very Rev. Canon Louis Joseph Vandenhende, who was teaching moral theology in the Grand Seminaire of Ghent, was chosen as President of Troy Seminary, and accompanying him as collaborators in the new work were the Rev. Charles Roelants, Rev. Peter Puissant, and the Rev. Henry Gabriels, now Bishop of Ogdensburg — all three graduates of the University of Louvain.

These four University men were to go out to New

York for a period of five years, at the end of which time their places would be filled, and they would be free to return to Belgium. The Rev. Dr. Vandenhende left for America before his companions, and he had as companion Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston, who had carried on all the negotiations in Archbishop McCloskey's name, after the death of Archbishop Hughes. On October 2, 1864, the three professors, with three religious Brothers of the Congregation of Good Works of Renaix, set out from Antwerp on the *City of Washington* and landed in New York on October 17. Dr. Vandenhende had come down from Troy to receive them, and it is not hard to picture the joy of Archbishop McCloskey's heart when the little band of professors presented themselves at the Cathedral Rectory in Mulberry Street. That same evening they left by the Steamer *Cornelius Vanderbilt* and landed at Troy the next morning. There they found the two American priests who had been chosen by the archbishop to assist them — Fathers Alexander Sherwood Healy and Patrick Tandy. The first faculty therefore, was as follows: The Very Rev. Louis Joseph Canon Vandenhende, D.D., superior, and professor of church history and some minor branches; the Rev. Alexander Sherwood Healy, until a short time before chancellor of the Diocese of Boston, professor of moral theology and director (prefect of discipline); the Rev. Charles Roelants, S.T.B., professor of sacred scripture; the Rev. Peter A. Puissant, S.T.B., professor of philosophy; the Rev. Henry Gabriels, S.T.L., professor of dogmatic theology; the Rev. Patrick W. Tandy, then recently ordained in Montreal, procurator.

ST. JOSEPH'S SEMINARY

Troy

The new Seminary of St. Joseph, henceforth to be known as the Provincial Seminary, was blessed by Archbishop McCloskey on December 1, 1864. There were present Bishop de Goesbriand, Bishop Fitzpatrick, Bishop McFarland, Bishop Bacon, and the Bishop-elect of Albany, Dr. Conroy. During the academic year 1865–66, the seminary was attended by seventy-nine theologians and twenty-three philosophers.

The Second Plenary Council which was opened on October 7, 1866, presented a splendid picture not only of the growth of the Church since the First Council in 1851, but of that inherent strength of Catholicism which has been so visible ever since: "In 1866," says Cardinal Gibbons, "Archbishop McCloskey attended the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, of which he was a burning and a shining light. He was conspicuous alike for his eloquence in the pulpit and for his wisdom in the council-chamber. I well remember the discourse he delivered at the opening session. The clear silvery tones of his voice, the grace of his gestures and manner, the persuasive eloquence and charm of his words are indelibly imprinted on my memory and imagination."

There were then seven provinces or archiepiscopates, and forty-seven bishoprics. The Archbishopric of New York included the Bishoprics of Albany, Boston, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Burlington, Hartford, Newark, and Portland, Me. For the first time in American history the attention of Protestants was attracted in a striking degree to the strong moral position the Church occupied in the country. Nothing had con-

tributed so much to the virility of the Church in the United States as the irreproachable conduct of the Catholic clergy during the war. "With a very few exceptions the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church kept their hands free from fraternal blood. They preached the great doctrines of peace and goodwill, they did not disfigure their altars with emblems of hate and war. In the camps of both armies they were the messengers of the Lord and true to their noble calling. In the midst of the terrors of the battlefield, the breath of pestilence, and in the hospitals, they devoted themselves exclusively to the amelioration of bodily suffering and to the kind and holy office of comforting. Hence this Church is today respected by people who, blinded by prejudices, ten years ago calumniated it. Hence the Church, whose servants they are, is today (1866) recognized by thousands as a worthy administratrix and teacher of these sacred truths which make men Christians and at the same time teach them to love one another; and, as has been said, this is recognized by thousands who do not share its belief. In all the proud annals of Rome there is not a prouder page than that leaf, that page, on which is written her purity, firmness and independence — her indifference to the threats and seduction of powerful parties — during the Civil War in America."

Consequently, when the prelates assembled at Baltimore in October 1866, the eyes of the country were upon them. Here was a unity of belief, of spirit, of purpose and of organization, which startled a land then nursing its wounds and entering upon a period of silent and bitter antagonism which has only passed

away in our day. The Church needed reconstruction as well as the country, and the sight of the Catholic bishops of the East and the West, the North and the South, gathering together to revivify the members of their ever-increasing flock with the spirit of peace and of charity towards all, astounded the country at large.

One of the most prominent figures at the Second Plenary Council was undoubtedly Archbishop McCloskey of New York. Although the youngest archbishop present he was chosen to preach the opening sermon. "As to the opening discourse coram populo," he writes to Archbishop Spalding, on June 18, 1866, "I shall endeavor to comply according to the best of my poor abilities with Your Grace's wishes." The Archbishop preached on the text: *Glorious things are said of thee, O City of God:* "If ever," he said in the opening words of his discourse, "there were moments when these words of the Royal Psalmist seem to rise spontaneously to our lips, and to impress themselves in all their truth and beauty on our hearts, assuredly it is now — now, in the presence of this spectacle so grand and so august; now, on an occasion so full of deep-felt interest, of holiest importance to us all." The Council, he said, exemplified all the glorious attributes of the City of God. "We behold its unity — for here are assembled from every portion of our country's wide domain, from its Pacific to its Atlantic, from its remotest frontier on the North to its farthest boundary on the South, Archbishops, Bishops, Venerable Abbots, and learned Priests called together by the illustrious Metropolitan of this most

ancient and honored See, and who, invested with the dignity and authority of Apostolic Delegate, holds the Presidency in our Council, thus forming a more immediate connecting link between us and the Supreme Pastor, the centre of unity and the source of spiritual jurisdiction, and through him uniting us with the whole body throughout the world, which is no other than the mystical body of Christ, which is One and cannot be divided any more than Christ Himself can be divided."

The Church had just passed through a fearful test of its unity — the Civil War. During that terrible period of fraternal strife, when the national unity was impaired and well-nigh broken, and when the social unity of the country had suffered a grievous rent, "in which," as the Archbishop confessed, "even among ourselves the bond of fraternal charity was sorely strained and perhaps weakened, the bond of faith, the unity of the children of the Church, remained strong as ever, and never perhaps did we meet together more as a band of brothers, more of one heart and one soul than now." The main part of the sermon is a masterly exposition of the infallibility of the Church as the teacher of mankind. "If this high prerogative," he said, "were not hers, what then?" . . . "Then was she a huge impostor, a blasphemus usurpation, a dreadful apostacy. Then was she deserving of all the obloquy and abuse her enemies have heaped upon her. And yet if this is so, how will you account for her miraculous history, how will you reconcile this with the divine economy that God should employ this great apostacy to preach His gospel to all the nations and to lead them forth from the darkness of infidelity to His

own admirable light? How is it that her enemies were always His: that when they blasphemed Him they blasphemed her; that she alone represented Christianity? How comes it that amid so many combats, sufferings, persecutions, dangers, she has always triumphed? Whence this invincible energy, this imperishable life? How is it that she lives; that she has not long since perished? How will you account for her unity, for that power, that authority, that bond to hold together in one body, in the possession of the same faith, in the reception of the same sacraments, so many tribes and peoples, so many nations, notwithstanding their remoteness from one another, their varieties of language, manners, and of race, their diversity of interests and aims, their national jealousies, prejudices, animosities, strifes — and this through a long course of ages? And when an age of Reformation came, and a purer religion was to be preached, its unity was broken, and then discord came and contentions and divisions and an endless variety of sects. There was no Catholicity. The reformers have never succeeded in establishing more than a national church. The result has been scepticism, indifference, irreligion.

"It will not do to say that the Church has for a long time enjoyed this prerogative, but has forfeited it. If at all, it was by virtue of her commission and the promises made her that she enjoyed it, and these are hers not for a time or for a limited number of years, but for all time. Once infallible, she is always infallible. All others by renouncing it, disclaim their title to be considered as a true church. If the Church has failed, has ceased to exist, then is Christianity a

failure. But no! In the presence of all the conflicting forms of religious belief, she still remains the same, is still one and Catholic, is still glorious amid afflictions, which are her lot now as ever, because they prepare the way for her triumph.

"This prerogative of infallibility has made the Church of God glorious not only in the past but in the present also; glorious even amid the many trials and threatening dangers that now beset her, and that encompass especially her venerated Head. For what spectacle is there of greater moral grandeur represented to the eyes of the world, than the church glorious in her suffering which is but a preparation for her triumph. Let us rejoice this day in being blessed in this glorious city of God."

The sermon concluded with an explanation of the purpose of the Council: "For us, Most Reverend Fathers of the Council, this is a moment of deep solemnity, of grave responsibility, as well as of religious joy. We are here as members of that Apostolic body, which has inherited the commission and received the promises of Christ. We are here not to define articles of faith; that belongs not to a Council such as this. Much less are we here to discuss any of the ordinary topics of the day or questions having a political complexion or tendency of any kind whatever. We are here to consult and deliberate together on those things which appertain exclusively to the proper discharge of the trusts committed to us; on things which concern the interests of a Kingdom not of this world. We are here to provide in season for the daily increasing spiritual wants of our vastly extended and rapidly expanding

territory, to multiply, if it may please God, all those means whereby faith may be strengthened, morals purified, the sources of sanctification increased, salvation secured. We are here to provide greater uniformity in ordering the observance of ecclesiastical discipline. In this we rely not on our own strength, but on that which comes from above, not on our own weak understanding, but on the light of the Holy Ghost, whom we have invoked at this altar."

Cardinal Gibbons relates in his *Retrospect of Fifty Years* the following incident: "As an evidence of the Cardinal's imperturbable temper and self-control under trying circumstances, I may mention that a few moments before he was invited by the master of ceremonies to ascend the pulpit to deliver the opening sermon at the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, a telegram was handed to him announcing the destruction of his Cathedral by fire. His Eminence preached in his usual tranquil and unruffled manner. When I expressed to him the next morning my surprise at his composure, he replied: 'The damage was done, and I could not undo it.'"

It is interesting to know that *Tituli* IX and X of the Acta of the Council were prepared by Archbishop McCloskey. The first *Titulus* was on a subject near to his heart: On the Education of Youth. Under this heading, he deals with three topics: (1) On Parochial Schools, which should be erected in every parish and as far as possible, be taught by religious congregations devoted to that purpose; (2) On Industrial Schools, which should be founded in all the larger cities; and

(3) On a Catholic University which should be founded for the whole United States. His words concerning the University are as follows:

"Atque utinam in hac regione Collegium unum maximum, sive Universitatem habere liceret, quod Collegiorum horum omnium, sive domesticorum sive exterorum, commoda atque utilitates complecteretur; in quo, scilicet, literae et scientiae omnes, tam sacrae quam profanae, traderentur! Utrum vero Universitatis hujusmodi constituendae tempus advenerit, necne, Patrum judicio, rem totam maturius posthac perpendentibus, relinquimus."

The second *Titulus* which dealt with the question of books and newspapers, warned parents to guard their children against immoral literature, and urged Catholics to disseminate good books.

On the problem of a Catholic University, Archbishop McCloskey wrote to Archbishop Spalding, on May 14, 1866, as follows:

New York, *May* 14, 1866

I did not submit a decree or statute on the subject of the University, for the reason that I presumed there would be considerable diversity of opinion; 1st. on the question of the University itself; 2nd. on the spot to be chosen, or the institution already existing to be adopted. The decrees will of course be presented as emanating from Your Grace, as Apostolic Delegate, and it seemed to me it would be best consulting for the dignity of your office, to let the matter first come up in the form of a question, which would elicit the views

and opinions of the assembled Prelates, and lead perhaps to the proposing of an appropriate decree, rather than put it in the form which might subject Your Grace to the risk of an apparent defeat. Would it be well to introduce a decree without having all the probabilities in favor of its acceptance? The same train of thought and feeling operated also in the case of "Relation of Bishops to Newspapers," and the Catechism of Dr. McCaffrey. I calculated to be prepared with a decree to be introduced after hearing the opinion of the Bishops, which would insure its being previously put in an acceptable shape. The newspaper question is a difficult as well as an important one. It was considered in one of our New York Provincial Councils, but nothing definite was arrived at. Of course Your Grace will decide the matter according to your better judgment, and frame such form of decree as may have already suggested itself to you.

The Acts and Decrees of the Second Plenary Council were the surprise of the Church in Europe. The wisdom and prudence displayed by the Fathers, and their eminently practical method of dealing with the lofty things of faith and morals, proved to the world that the Church in America had reached a stage of organization far beyond its years of existence. It is well known that at the Vatican Council in 1870, the wish was expressed by some of the Bishops present, that the Decrees of the Plenary Council of Baltimore might be made universal laws for the whole Church.

The Second Plenary Council had legislated definitely on a subject which was then proving detrimental to

Catholic progress — the number and increase of secret societies. This legislation bore heavily upon a society composed mostly of Catholics, which was then at the height of its activities — the Fenians. The Fenian movement for the liberation of Ireland had been begun in America in 1858 through the instrumentality of James Stephens, the Irish patriot. A large part of the Irish soldiers in the Union and Confederate armies during the Civil War were Fenians, and at a convention held in Chicago in October, 1860, the Fenian Brotherhood stood out boldly in favor of violent methods to accomplish their purpose. The archbishop was aware of the motives and plans of the movement, and on August 20, 1864, wrote to Archbishop Spalding that some measures ought to be taken to curb Fenian activity:

"With regard to the Fenians, it was considered best to pursue the same course we have thus far been pursuing, of making no public denunciation nor any final decision, further than to advise our clergy to use every effort to discourage them, and to prevent their people from joining them. I suggested the propriety of endeavoring to induce the Archbishop of Baltimore to submit the whole case to Rome, and if possible obtain some more formal or satisfactory solution of its difficulties than has as yet been given. This suggestion was concurred in, and I accordingly invite your attention to it with the request that you will be kind enough to favor me with your views at your earliest convenience."

On October 28, 1864, Archbishop Spalding sent a petition to Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Sacred

Congregation of Propaganda Fide, asking for instructions on the question. This petition was sent secretly to all the bishops of the country, who were asked to consider the matter, but not to allow his petition to be known to the public at large. No action was taken at this time, nor does it appear that the legitimacy of the Fenian Brotherhood was more than cursorily discussed at the Second Plenary Council in 1866, although the Freemasons and the Odd Fellows are mentioned in the Decrees of the Council. The centre of the Fenian Movement was in New York, and open boasts were made by its leaders that they would conquer Canada and then force England to give independence to Ireland. A meeting was scheduled to take place on Sunday, March 3, 1866, and on that day the archbishop caused to be read in all the churches a circular admonishing the faithful to remain away from the affair. The circular was as follows:

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF NEW YORK
NEW YORK, *March* 2, 1866

Reverend Dear Sir:

I learn with much pain and regret that it is proposed by some of the leaders of the Fenian movement to hold a mass meeting to-morrow (Sunday) afternoon in Jones' Wood. As most of those, unfortunately, who are connected with this movement profess themselves Catholics, I feel it my duty to beg of you to admonish and exhort your people to take no part in what must be regarded as an open profanation of the Lord's Day, an act of public scandal to religion and an outrage to the feelings of all good Catholics, especially in the holy

season of Lent. Such an act can hardly fail to provoke the anger of God no less than the sorrow and indignation of all sincere Christians.

Very sincerely yours,
✠ John, Archbishop of New York

This circular naturally aroused much discussion. At the Cathedral, a great crowd had gathered on Sunday morning, March 3, and the archbishop addressed them in the following terms:

"We want to say a few words to you on a subject with which many of you are acquainted. It is in reference to a call for a meeting of some of those who are known as leaders of the Fenian movement. It is the call made by them for an aggregate or mass meeting this evening in Jones' Wood. The object for which this meeting is called it is not necessary for me to state, from the fact that it is a call of the Fenian Brotherhood and Irishmen generally to assemble in Jones' Wood. Now, I desire to speak to you of this subject in all calmness. I wish not to use words in reference to this subject that will be calculated to excite feelings of indignation or violence. I speak as the Catholic Bishop of a people who are known to have the Catholic faith deeply implanted in their hearts — who are jealous of all that concerns the honor and credit of that holy faith in the eyes of God and men. On the merits of Fenianism it is not my purpose at all to speak, as nearly all know what is the opinion held of it almost universally by all the bishops and priests of the whole Catholic Church, and all men know how unfortunately a very large class of Irish Catholics have been in this

instance an exception to what has been their history in all time in closing their ears to the counsels of the fathers of the flock upon this subject, and listening to the counsels of self-constituted leaders.

"I do not call in question the motives by which they are actuated. No one sympathizes more deeply with afflicted Ireland than he who now speaks to you. God forbid that any word of his should ever militate against what are Ireland's real, best, and highest interests. If we are opposed to this movement *in toto* it is not because we sympathize with the English government, but because we sympathize in the true spirit with Ireland. We have seen nothing yet, and we expect nothing from this Fenian movement but what will be to the great detriment of Ireland and its people, both in that country and also in this, the land of their adoption. We believe that only injury will come of this movement, and time will prove who is in the right and who is in the wrong. We believe that as nothing but mischief has so far come of it, nothing but mischief will further come of it. And I say it not only in the interests of our brethren in their own land but also in our interests here. If our people persist, as unfortunately they have persisted thus far, in a movement which all sensible men and all true friends of Ireland consider one of folly, which must result in nothing but destruction and mischief, it will not only incite England to oppose Ireland still more, and to rivet still more securely the chains of her people, but it will incite perhaps the anger and disgust of the American people themselves against us.

"And I say in all the sincerity of my heart that I look

to this movement with a feeling of deep apprehension for the reason of the spirit that has been evinced by those whose counsel the people have followed in this movement that it will raise up against Irishmen, first as Irishmen and then as Catholics, in this land, a spirit of persecution equal to that under which they have so long groaned in their own land. I appeal to all men, and beg of them for their own sakes and for the sake of their religion and their God, to withdraw themselves from a movement that has already gone too far.

"The reason alleged for not listening to advice from bishops and clergy in this matter is that they say this is a political movement, and that therefore the bishops and priests of the Catholic Church have nothing to do with it, and must stand aside from it. That is true, bishops and priests have nothing to do with it. They say that this movement has nothing to do with religion. Unfortunately it is too true it has not. But religion has something to do with it. This day is a day sacred to God and to the hearing of His words. It is Sunday. It is not a day for politics. It is not a day for public demonstrations, but it is a day for Catholic people to assemble in the house of God, pay their vows and thanks to Him, offer their prayers for the prosperity and peace of the land they love and to which they have been so faithful. These Fenian demonstrations are bad enough on any day; but there are days enough in the week, and if they will not be given to those meetings, let God's Day at least be sacred from them. This act of a public meeting being held this afternoon is an open profanation of the Lord's Day. It is and will be regarded as a public scandal; it will be a torch to the

feelings of the whole Christian community, and if this admonition is neglected, all the Catholics will be held responsible for this outrage; and our Christian brethren who revered the Lord's Day already look upon this movement as a profanation of this day; and all who do will ask in astonishment what does all this mean? They will say here are Irishmen and Catholics offering a public insult to the day of the Lord.

"Hence it is that I have addressed a circular to all the Catholic clergy of this city to warn their flocks to abstain from this demonstration on the day sacred to religion and to God. This invitation for a public meeting is addressed to Catholics to leave their religious leaders, and gather to listen to men in Jones' Wood speaking violent and inflammatory language to them. At least respect this day, which is sacred to God. Take no part in the gathering. Here is the place to show your sympathy; here you will not provoke God's anger, but can invoke His blessing."

Subsequently, an "invasion of Canada" occurred in June, 1866, but the entire movement was a failure due to the opposition of such clear-sighted leaders as John McCloskey.

There was some newspaper talk after the close of the Second Plenary Council on the creation of an American Cardinal. The question had been raised two years before, and in one of Archbishop McCloskey's letters to Archbishop Spalding, dated August 25, 1864, he says: "Is it not provoking to have to endure such ridiculous reports as the one you extracted from the *Express* and sent to me. I hope we shall have no

Cardinal's hat in this country. We are better without one. I will not answer, however for what may be in store for *you*. For myself, I have no fears. . . ." The rumor was again started by a correspondent in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Archbishop Spalding writes on July 2, 1864:

"I presume that the Correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* blundered fully as much in the assertion that there was any idea of my receiving the red hat, as he did in saying that I was an Irishman! So far from receiving a red hat, it is not at all impossible — though I deem it scarcely probably — that I may have my black or purple one knocked off."

On May 18, 1868, Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, wrote to Archbishop Spalding, asking him to send a priest to Rome at once to help in the preparation of the studies preliminary to the Vatican Council. The Metropolitan of Baltimore wrote to Archbishop McCloskey (June 8, 1868): "I know of no one, more suitable for this important charge than the Secretary of our late Council, Dr. Corcoran, who, moreover speaks Italian and is well acquainted with Rome." Among the interesting letters still preserved among Cardinal McCloskey's papers is one from Dr. Corcoran, dated from the American College, Rome, March 6, 1869:

Most Reverend Sir:

I had long ago intended to report to you my presence in Rome, as I was prevented from seeing you before my departure. As you are aware probably ere this,

I have been aggregated to the Commission, as it is called here, of Dogmatic Theology. It is composed so far of twenty members, of whom seven are foreigners, but of the latter more are expected. Card. Barnabo spoke to me, amongst others, of a theologian to come from Canada.

I find myself much embarrassed here by the obligation of secrecy, which has its advantages, of course, but works also the other way. That silence should be observed as to proceedings in committee-rooms, and the opinions of individual members, is very just. But that the topics discussed there should not be mentioned even by name, is rather hard. That a Theologian should not communicate with the Bishop whom he represents, and whose relation to him is that of principal to a deputy, appears to me so utterly out of order, that I have after long and solemn deliberation concluded to reject any such interpretation of the promise of secrecy as unfounded and absurd.

I will state to you then in the first place that there prevails a *mania* (I can call it nothing else) for defining *de fide* a great mass of propositions and on almost every subject. Hundreds of opinions hitherto held or tolerated in Catholic schools will be proscribed, if these theologians have their own way. Some of them touch on those complex intricate relations between Church and State, which to discuss even is as difficult as it is dangerous. As I represent a peculiar country, and know something of its frame of mind (Catholic and Protestant) I have thus far constantly opposed this course on the simple ground of inexpediency, possible or probable harm instead of good, etc. In

like manner the infallibility of the Pope. I consider that he has the thing theoretically and practically in the Catholic world of today. What more is needed? The *res* is more important than the *titulus*. When asked if the American Bishops desired this definition, I could not answer positively; I had merely to say I thought not.

If you have leisure and favor me ever so briefly with your views on these and analogous subjects, I shall receive them with all respect and gratitude, and be guided by them in my action. I shall also have some satisfaction to fall back on, when my opinions here are considered singular and *outrées*.

Accompanying this I send a letter of receipt to your Revd. Secretary, Mr. McNeirny. The preparations for the locale of the council have already commenced and will be more vigorously prosecuted after Easter; $130,000 have been already allocated for this especial object. Two of our American students have been chosen as stenographers amongst many of various nations.

I am most Reverend Sir

Yours most obediently and respectfully in Xt.,

JAMES A. CORCORAN

On August 7, 1869, Archbishop McCloskey and his Secretary, Father McNierny started for Rome on the *Ville de Paris*, which was bound for Havre. Before he started out on this memorable voyage, the priests of the New York Diocese, with Father Starrs at their head, presented him with a cheque for five thousand dollars, and the following Address:

NEW YORK, *July 7th*, 1869

Most Revd. and Respected Sir:

Having been convened in the Cathedral for a specific purpose, the clergy of the Archdiocese have judged it a fitting occasion for attesting in a body not only their profound reverence for your episcopal character, but in addition the devotion and sincere affection they bear you personally.

This united utterance of feelings long shared by them individually, has had, as may well be conceived, no merely casual promptings to publicity. Very few weeks are to elapse before you set out from our shores in obedience to a summons from the Supreme Pontiff and Father of the Christian world; and while our prayers, as is meet, will go with you in your auspicious journey to the Oecumenical Council, yet we do not close our eyes to the fact that it takes you away for the first time from among our people, and from us, your clergy, who have long enjoyed your daily counsel and encouragement.

In presence of this first separation we cannot help recalling the anxiety that was, years ago, manifested not only in this important diocese, but everywhere throughout our country, to know who was to be chosen to sit in the chair made vacant by the death of that truly eminent Prelate, Archbishop Hughes. Our Holy Father soon appeased that anxiety, and the honor settled worthily on you. While however the world at large saw but the new dignity of the Metropolitan added to those you had long honored and graced as Bishop of Albany, we, who were to be sharers of its unseen trials and solicitudes saw clearly in your presence

among us the new impulse to be given to the needs of this ever-expanding diocese, realized today in the churches and institutions everywhere in process of erection; and saw moreover that we were to be brought in contact with personal qualities that must ever evoke attachment to their possessor and hearty coöperation in all his undertakings.

We are aware of the traits enumerated by the Apostle as constituting a perfect Bishop; and we may surely be pardoned the avowal that many of them are strikingly seen in your character. But we refer here more especially to that practical sense of justness that marks all your decisions whether their purport is to adjust in Synod the multifarious and often conflicting needs of your extensive diocese, or whether they be given in the private consultation, which, from time to time, every clergyman must have with his Bishop. We refer besides to the attractive benignity, which, despite your many cares, makes you readily accessible to any of us; and lastly we would designate in a special manner the mildness and forbearance that mark your exercise of authority.

You have learned, Most Revd. Sir, by a long experience in governing, the rare lesson of tempering with gentleness its traditional severity. Your reward is the homage of our hearts — the best gift in our power to bestow. You are soon to meet the great Pontiff whose own heart has won for him the homage of the entire world. We embrace the opportunity of sending him through you the ever new and abundant expression of our love and devotion to his person, and sympathy in the burden of years as well as solicitude

that is weighing upon him; and as an additional proof of the earnestness of that devotion, we ask you to present to him the gifts which our limited means enable us to offer.

In conclusion we invoke Almighty God to grant you a prosperous voyage; to render your presence in the Centre of Catholicity conducive to the best interest of his Church and to restore you again, with renewed health and vigor, to the bosom of your devoted flock.

WILLIAM STARRS, D.D., V.G.
Chairman

WILLIAM QUINN, *Sec'y.*

Archbishop McCloskey refers to the gift of his priests to the Holy Father in a letter, dated Rome, November 18, 1869, to the late Monsignor Preston, then Chancellor of the Archdiocese:

Rev. dear Father Preston:

Your kind and very welcome letter came to hand last week. I deferred answering it until I should have my audience with the Holy Father. This privilege and honor I enjoyed last evening, when His Holiness was graciously pleased to receive me, to converse with me most affably for some twenty minutes, and then to admit Father McNeirny. I presented all the gifts of which I was the bearer from the clergy and faithful of my diocese. The letter and offering of the clergy came first in order. He glanced over the contents and the names appended, reserving a more careful perusal for another time. He had already, however, been made aware of its contents by Mgr. Simeoni, Secretary of the Propaganda, to whom I had shown

it, as well as to the Cardinal, who pronounced it *un indirisso bellissimo*. I have reason to know that it has been most grateful and consoling to the Holy Father, particularly at this time, when so much is said in the newspapers, and in private conversations concerning the anti-ultramontane views of the American bishops and clergy. His Holiness expressed himself highly pleased also with the generous offering of the laity and was not a little amused as well as pleased with the beautiful fish and its golden contents, diamond ring borne in its mouth. He spoke of our affairs at home, of the councils, etc., and giving his benediction to myself and diocese, dismissed me with a grateful and happy heart.

I am very grateful to you for having been so punctual in sending the draft at the time appointed; as it is fast becoming next to an impossibility, as the number of bishops increase, to obtain a special audience — I am now with a mind at ease, ready to get seriously at work. We have very pleasant apartments, have been able to fit up a nice little chapel for our daily Mass, and are beginning to feel quite at home. The weather is now mild and more genial than when we first arrived. There are a good many Americans here, but not so many, it is said, as there were at this time last year. There is and will continue to be abundance of room for all who are willing to pay the *prices*, either in hotels or private apartments. We dined with Mrs. Ward a few evenings since. Her health seems much improved.

I am sorry that the collection for the Cathedral has not come up to the mark. I hope, however, it will

be made right, and that the work will not have to suffer. With regard to the seminary, I did not suppose that the number of seminarians would be as great this year as it was last. The American College here is filling up quite rapidly. There are now some fifty-eight students — all ours are well and seem to give satisfaction.

Kind regards to all — pray for me and believe me,

Very truly your fr. and bro. in Xt.,

✠ John, Abp. of N. York

In a letter dated Rome, May 26, 1870, he assures Father Preston that he will set out for home in August, and on July 8, 1870, he sent the following letter:

Rev. dear Father Preston:

Your esteemed favor of the 19th ult. has found me here still in Rome — and what is worse still in uncertainty as to when I shall be free to leave. The discussion on the Primacy and Infallibility closed on Monday last, and we were all full of hope that the Public Session would be held on the 17th. The appearances now are that this will not take place before the 24th. This will be to me a most serious inconvenience as well as grievious disappointment. I had engaged passage in the French steamer which will leave Brest on the 30th. If the Council does not adjourn before the 24th. it will be impossible for me to reach Brest in time, and in this case I shall have to take my chance of having our places transferred to the steamer of two weeks later.

Should the collection for the Holy Father have not

been forwarded before your receipt of this, I would wish, for special reasons, that you retain it until my return. I would be obliged to you also if you will place to my account in the Mechanics National Bank the sum of five hundred (500) dolls.; as I have a bill to pay on the other side which may become due before my return and which I prefer to meet by cheque on my own bank.

There is a good deal of sickness just now in Rome, the Bishop of Buffalo has had a very severe attack — for one or two days we quite despaired of his life — he is now better but not out of danger. Father McNeirny and myself had to be more or less in the fashion — My own attack has been light — Father McN's more serious. We have been considering the heat as very excessive and very oppressive, but I yesterday saw in a New York paper that you have the thermometer above 90 in the shade, and in Albany at 98. This quite surpasses us and makes us feel that we should not complain.

I cannot tell you how surprised and grieved I was to hear of the death of good Mrs. Preston. This certainly is a very great blow to your brother William, coming so early and unexpectedly. Be pleased to present to him the expression of my most sincere condolence as well as the assurance that his lamented wife is not forgotten in my prayers and at the Holy Altar. Say also as much to the afflicted and sorrowing Mother.

I prefer to say nothing on the McGlynn difficulty just now. The whole question is one which we shall have to take into serious consideration on my return.

It is all important that due distinction shall be drawn between what is of Catholic principle and duty, in the matter of protecting the faith of our children, and what is of wise and prudent policy in the manner of seeking aid for our schools.

I may observe that Dr. McGlynn has many friends here, and the violent attacks of McMaster have excited a strong sympathy in his favor, especially among some officials of the Propaganda, who are naturally jealous of the good name of their institution. The clergy of New York have reason to say "non tali auxilio, non defensoribus istis."

Kindest regards to all — hoping to see you soon, I remain,

Very sincerely your friend and bro. in Xt.,

✠ John, Abp. of N. Y.

The mention of the discussion on Papal Infallibility will recall to many who still remember the interest that dogmatic definition caused, the statement that Archbishop McCloskey was one of the seven prelates who voted *non placet* when the general vote was taken in July, 1870. That statement has always been made, but without any warrant. It is true that he voted against the expediency of the declaration *at that time*, but he was present at the last solemn session of the Council on July 18, 1870 and voted affirmatively.

Cardinal Gibbons, who was also present, wrote on May 9, 1910: "I have a most distinct recollection of the attitude of the different Prelates in regard to the question of Infallibility. Kenrick of St. Louis, Purcell of Cincinnati and Connolly of Halifax declared

themselves against the Infallibility in itself; but I recall most distinctly that Cardinal McCloskey was not opposed to Infallibility in itself but declared himself against the expediency of declaring it an article of faith at that time. In fact, I may add that this seemed to be the consensus of opinion of the majority of the American Bishops at the Council."

"Most of the Bishops who opposed the decision," writes Cardinal Gibbons, in his *Retrospect of Fifty Years*, "did not do so from any doubt of the dogma, but only from a feeling of the inopportuneness of the decision and the fear lest the governments of Europe would use it, as the German government did afterwards, as a pretext for persecution, and lest the way into the Church should be made hard for those multitudes of people who were manifestly seeking the rest and peace for their souls which they could only hope to find in the Catholic Church. When, then, the question of Infallibility came to be raised, it was debated with great heat; not indeed in the public sessions but in those private sessions in which the Fathers discussed the dogma from every point of view. Never have I heard such plain speaking in my life; never have I seen men apparently more violently attached to their own opinions, nor less ready to give way to their opponents. There were times, indeed, when the excitement rose to fever heat, and when one was reminded of some of the earlier Councils, as, for instance, the Council of Chalcedon. But all the excitement was but the outward and visible manifestation of the burning zeal within, and when once the decision was taken and the Bull containing it

promulgated, not one Bishop of that assembly forsook the See of Peter and the Catholic Church. I remember the story told with regard to the late Archbishop of St. Louis — the Most Rev. Dr. Kenrick. He was violently opposed to the definition, not only because of what he considered its inopportuneness, but because he did not see that it was part of the deposit of faith; nevertheless no sooner was the decision promulgated, than he most nobly accepted it and published it in his diocese. Years afterwards somebody spoke of the Archbishop to Leo XIII, and criticised his attitude during the Vatican Council to the Holy Father, upon which the Holy Father replied indignantly, 'The Metropolitan of St. Louis was a noble man and a true Christian Bishop. When he sat in Council as a judge of the faith, he did according to his conscience, and the moment the decision was taken, although it was against him, he submitted with the filial piety of a Catholic Christian.'

"I have often thought since what a commentary the proceedings of the Vatican Council would be upon the opinions of those who say that in the Catholic Church there is no freedom of thought, and that we never see but one side of the question. Certainly thought was never freer in the world than it was within the walls of the Council Chamber, and never was there a deliberative assembly with greater freedom of debate than that enjoyed by the Fathers of the Vatican Council."

On his return from Rome in September 1870, Archbishop McCloskey was given a public reception by the clergy and laity of the diocese.

On February 12, 1872, Archbishop McCloskey was called upon to say the last words over his friend and guide, Archbishop Spalding of Baltimore, who had passed away five days before. They had been elevated to the two most prominent Archiepiscopal Sees on the same day, nearly ten years before (1864), and the correspondence which still remains in the archives of their respective dioceses bear witness to the fraternal spirit which guided all their actions for the Church of God in America. John McCloskey first met Martin John Spalding in the month of August 1834, in New York City. The one was returning from Rome and the other was just about to depart for the Eternal City. The acquaintance which began at that time soon ripened into a close friendship, and the affection of the two prelates grew and strengthened all through their lives. Both had begun their ministry under pioneer bishops — Spalding under Bishop Flaget, and McCloskey under Bishop Dubois. No two prelates of that day possessed in so marked a degree, such fatherly kindness and tenderness as these two men, — one the young Coadjutor of New York, and the other the Bishop of Louisville. Both were eloquent beyond comparison; and, although John McCloskey never permitted himself to enter that wider field of eloquence in which Martin Spalding's literary and historical works made him easily the master, nevertheless, both were considered the brightest ornaments of the American hierarchy. Both had followed illustrious men — the one became successor to Archbishop Hughes, the other to Archbishop Kenrick, but above and beyond all their honors, both cherished

more than all else the friendship which had made them one in heart and mind for half a century.

An event which redounds to the credit of Cardinal McCloskey is the Solemn Dedication of the Province of New York to the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, 1873. On November 15, 1873, the following pastoral letter was addressed to the clergy and laity of New York:

Venerable Brethren of the Clergy and Beloved Children of the Laity:

Wishing to have part with our brethren of the episcopacy in the propagation of a pious and salutary work, and to make you sharers in the many spiritual privileges and blessings which it brings with it, we have resolved, with the Divine assistance, to dedicate our respective dioceses, together with all their churches, religious houses, charitable and educational institutions, collectively and singly, to the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus. And we have appointed, accordingly, the approaching Feast of the Immaculate Conception, the great patronal festival of the Church in these United States, as the day on which this solemn act of consecration shall take place.

We feel sure that you will welcome this announcement with sincerest pleasure. For in the gloomy and perilous times upon which we have fallen, every new ray of light, every fresh gleam of hope, every additional source of strength and courage, is hailed with joy. This better light and hope, this additional strength and courage, will be given to you in the efficacious and beautiful devotion to the Sacred

Heart which it is the object of this act of consecration to promote.

There is a moral darkness overspreading the earth. The light of Divine Faith, the only true light to guide our footsteps, has become obscured. In some places it is burning dimly, in others it is wholly or well-nigh extinguished. Yet, men are seen to 'love the darkness rather than the light, for their ways are evil.' They have risen in open revolt against God and against His Christ; against the supremacy of His dominion over the minds and consciences of individuals and of nations. The most essential truths of His revelation are rejected; the holiest mysteries of His religion are scoffed at and denied; the very life of Christianity is threatened. Irreligion, indifferentism, unbelief, with their attendant train of evils, abound on every side. As a consequence, or rather as a means to an end, the Church is persecuted. Her Supreme Pastor is held in bondage. Her bishops and priests, in certain portions of Europe, are forbidden the exercise of their rightful jurisdiction and authority over the members of their own flock; some are proscribed and exiled; religious communities are despoiled of their property, driven from their homes, made subject to indignities and hardships the most cruel and unjust; even the faithful laity are not spared.

Although we, in our free and favored country, are happily protected from extreme trials such as these, still, as children of the Church, we are members of one body in Christ; and when one member suffers, all the members suffer with it. Our sympathies, therefore, go out strongly and warmly to our struggling and

afflicted brethren in other lands. Our prayers are for them as well as with them. All together we lift up our voices saying, 'How long, O Lord, how long!' 'Thy arm alone is powerful to save.' Still we fear not, we do not despond. We 'know in whom we have trusted.' We know His promises; we believe His word. 'I am with you all days.' 'Upon this rock I have built my church, and the gates of hell shall never prevail against it.' Even now the voice of the same Divine Master, ever present in His Church, is speaking to holy souls within her bosom words of sweet comfort and encouragement; telling them whither they shall go for help and protection; how best in the long protracted struggle they may obtain courage to endure, and strength to overcome. If you hear not these words, you still may learn their import from the practical response that is given to them. Look around you, and what do you behold? Almost everywhere you see bishops and priests, religious men and women, holy servants of God, devout believers, both of high and low degree, coming together in pious confraternities, in associations of prayer, in pilgrimages, and all, as if moved by one common impulse, hastening to have recourse for succor and protection to the compassionate Heart of Jesus. There they confidently hope to find a sure asylum, a safe refuge from every danger. There also is the never-failing fountain of infinite love and mercy, the over-flowing source of every grace and blessing. Let us hasten, then, to this divine Heart, and we too 'shall draw waters with joy from the fountains of the Saviour.'

This, dear Brethren, is the motive which prompts

us to ordain the solemn act of consecration in which you are invited to take part. In order that you may do this the more worthily, we exhort you to prepare yourselves beforehand by a good confession and by a devout reception of Holy Communion on the great festival day itself, if possible.

It is fitting also that you should join in this act as a public profession of your faith especially in all the great mysteries of redemption, which have their most expressive symbol, as well as their living source and centre, in the adorable Heart of the God-man, the 'World made flesh, and dwelling among us.'

You will offer it, besides, as an act of reparation for the daily outrages and insults, the sacrileges and impieties, the indifference and unbelief, which so grieviously afflict and wound this divine Heart, so tender and compassionate, so patient, charitable, forgiving, notwithstanding the ingratitude and wickedness of men.

But above all, you will seek to consecrate your own hearts to the Heart of your dear Saviour. You will take His for your model. You will study its lessons, and teach them to your children. 'Suffer the little children to come to me, and forbid them not.' See, then, that you bring them to the loving and tender Father, who wishes to press them to His heart and have them walk the nearest to Him. But in what way can you bring them to Him and keep them by His side where they will be secure from harm? You can only do so by giving or securing to them a sound Catholic education; by taking care that their faith and morals shall be guarded from the risks and perils

to which they must be inevitably exposed wherever the first essential element of true education, that is to say, religion, is excluded or ignored. Remember that the interests of the soul are higher far than the interests of the body. 'Seek first the kingdom of God and his justice, and all things else will be added unto you.' Watch, then, and pray both for yourselves and for all those entrusted to you. Pray for our still suffering Pontiff, for the necessities of the Church, for the conversion of sinners; pray for your enemies, as well as for your friends. Commend all to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and to the Immaculate Heart of Mary, that so you may find help and protection during the days of life, pardon and mercy at the hour of death.

The Rev. Pastors are requested to read this Letter to their congregations on the two Sundays preceding the 8th of December. On that day High Mass will be celebrated with all due solemnity. After Mass the Sermon will be preached, and then the Act of Consecration, a printed formula of which is sent you, will be read aloud, the people meanwhile kneeling and accompanying with their hearts the words of the Priest. The ceremony will close with the *Te Deum*. Where the urgency of time or place requires it, the Act of Consecration may take place at Vespers, with Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament.

'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the charity of God, and the communication of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.' Amen!

Given at the Archiepiscopal Residence, New York, this 15th day of November, 1873.

JOHN, *Archbishop of New York*, JOHN, *Bishop of Brook-*

lyn, DAVID W., *Bishop of Portland*, FRANCIS PATRICK, *Bishop of Hartford*, LOUIS, *Bishop of Burlington*, STEPHEN VINCENT, *Bishop of Buffalo*, JOHN J., *Bishop of Albany*, JOHN J., *Bishop of Boston*, BERNARD J., *Bishop of Rochester*, PATRICK T., *Bishop of Springfield*, FRANCIS, *Bishop of Rhesina, Coadjutor of Albany*, THOMAS F., *Bishop of Providence*, EDGAR P., *Bishop of Ogdensburg*, MICHAEL A., *Bishop of Newark.*

On March 10, 1874, the thirtieth anniversary of the consecration of Archbishop McCloskey was celebrated with becoming ceremonies. The priests of the diocese, to the number of one hundred and seventy-five called at the archiepiscopal residence, on Madison Avenue, and when His Grace had ascended the throne prepared in the drawing-room, Father Felix Farrelly read the following address:

Most Rev. Archbishop:

We have come in this public manner to offer to Your Grace our congratulations on this the thirtieth anniversary of your episcopate.

It is not usual with the Church, as we know, to be able to mark in her calender so long a service in those she invests with her highest authority. The weighty burden of duties and the exhausting and corroding cares, oftener even than the weight of years cut short the career of usefulness of many a bishop. We cannot therefore help regarding it as a happy augury for religion in our diocese, that to you has been vouchsafed so long a term of episcopal administra-

tion, and congratulating you as we do now, in our own name and in the name of the devoted flocks whom you have entrusted to our pastoral care, we also pray the Giver of life and the Great Disposer of all its events, to lengthen still more your days, and to keep yet longer in our midst the traditions you so worthily represent, as an example and an incentive to us in every vigorous exertion of our calling.

In saying these words of reverence and affection we are astonished that our duty is properly at an end, for the language of the heart is brief as well as sincere. If then we are prompted by the occasion to add something more, it is merely that our thoughts may be the companions of your own thought in the memories that come up on so notable an anniversary. Such a review cannot but increase our respect for your high office, and attach us to your person in bonds of still deeper love and respect, and if, besides, it should abate any of the sadness in the nature of things inseparable from the past, as your loving and devoted priests we enter on it the more willingly.

There are, we believe, but few of the clergy of your diocese, numerous as they are now, that witnessed your consecration — two or three at the most — and they were then but humble levites in the sanctuary. Yet on that day of magnificence and joy, the spacious sanctuary of St. Patrick's Cathedral was filled with priests of every degree of age and usefulness. They all have now gone to their reward. The two bishops consecrated with you, and the august consecrator as well, equally rest from their labors. Not long since you stood by the remains of the last of

those laborious and devoted men and along with your grief for the loss of your Vicar-General and your friend came the sad feeling that now you were left alone of them all.

It is, unhappily, not possible for any of us to fill up this void in your heart, yet our number, our fidelity, and our devotedness may do much to soften its pain, and happily we can aid you by heartfelt zeal to bear the heavy burden and labor which the province of God clearly deems it necessary you should still bear for your people.

We do not wish to detail the works that labor has already accomplished. Still we cannot pass over in silence the place you hold in the traditions of this diocese. You are the only living priest in it, and perhaps in its whole province, who saw the first Catholic Church ever erected in this city, old St. Peter's, or who knew the first bishop that actually ruled this See. His hand, indeed, may have signed you with chrism of confirmation. You were ordained by the second consecrated by the third, whose successor you are, and now as metropolitan preside over a province with twelve suffragan bishops whose priests with your own, number more than 1,000. St. Vincent's Hospital, in this city, is your work, erected by you when pastor of St. Joseph's Church, and the money that built it was collected in your long and weary journeyings. You were called from your pastoral charge to preside over the first ecclesiastical seminary in our midst, and over the college attached to it. To your energy and zeal the present provincial seminary at Troy owes its able and valuable professors, who have made it a

success and a blessing to the province from the number of pious and zealous priests it has furnished to the Church. You founded the Diocese of Albany and built its magnificent cathedral. Called to govern this diocese — your old home — you found among its multiplied burdens the vast cathedral edifice, begun by your illustrious predecessor, to be reared from its foundations, and, thanks to your unflagging efforts and patient toil, it now rises in grandeur above all that surrounds it, just as your own life of worth and dignity and honor in the priesthood is above all among us whose lives are devoted to the service of God's Church.

Still, in vigor and hope, after thirty years of most prudent and successful administration, you can look out over your vast diocese and see temples of God rising everywhere; see, besides, the orphans fed and cared for in comfortable homes, the homeless aged of both sexes sheltered, the sick tenderly nursed, the reckless sinner brought back in repentance and hope, even the waifs cast out to perish on the heartless tide of society, rescued for the sake of the image they bear — in a word, institutions for the relief of almost every want of humanity, if not founded by you at least fostered and helped by your counsel and support. All this is your consolation and your glory. No one, then, could have been left longer among us who combines so many of the traditions of this diocese, and whose own works will live in benediction.

You have grown with its growth, and now crown its glory; more than that, your people and your priests all see in you the steward of God, gentle,

sober, just, holy, the very lineaments the divine Apostle drew of a true bishop. May those lineaments we know so well be long yet in our sight to cheer us in our work, and to let us see how blessed it is before men and angels to be a true servant of God. Begging your Grace to accept this free-will offering of our love and esteem, we ask your benediction.

After all the clergy had resumed their seats the archbishop rose and replied as follows:

I thank you most sincerely, reverend and dear friend, for the kind words which you have spoken. I thank you all, very reverend and dear brethren, for the affectionate wishes and warm congratulations which you have come to offer me on this thirtieth anniversary of my episcopate. I am willing and happy to believe, as I do believe, that in all you have said you have been giving utterance not to mere phrases of formal courtesy, but to the genuine feelings of your hearts; and allow me to assure you that your words have not fallen simply as pleasant sounds upon my ear, but have entered into my heart, and will remain engraved there. They will remain as a precious reminiscence of this anniversary. They will remain as words of cheering and of comfort, as a help to strengthen and encourage me through whatever further term of life, or labor, or trial, may in the providence of God be still allotted to me. This signal mark, not alone of friendship, but of honor and respect, enhanced as it is by your numerous presence here from every portion of the archdiocese, is one which affects and moves me more deeply than any words of mine can

tell. It is a compliment I did not anticipate, in as much as I did not feel that I had any just claim to it; for of the thirty years of my episcopate, not more than twelve have been devoted, properly speaking, to this Diocese of New York — between two and three as coadjutor, between nine and ten as your unworthy archbishop — so that, in truth, the best and most active years of my life were given to the diocese of which I had the honor to be the first bishop — that is, the Diocese of Albany. But Albany was only an offshoot from New York, and for this reason, perhaps, you have been pleased to consider the unities as still preserved, and have given me credit accordingly. This only makes my debt of gratitude still greater — far greater than I shall be ever able to repay.

The archbishop left for Europe at the end of July, 1874, and at the first real stopping place, Paris, he wrote on August 10, as follows to Father Preston:

Very Rev. dear Father Preston:

Behold me safely arrived at my old and comfortable quarters in Paris, and I am happy to add in excellent health, having had a most pleasant passage across the ocean, without sickness, and without drawback of any kind except the illness of Bishop Bacon, which commenced a couple of days before our arrival at Brest, where he is still detained, but surrounded by kind sympathising friends and having the best attendance of every kind. As his illness, though painful, is not a dangerous one, I did not remain with him more than two days in Brest, when he insisted that I should

continue my journey — I came to Paris by way of St. Brieux and Nantes in each of which places I spent a day, to see about work which is being done for our new Cathedral, reaching here on Saturday evening. I had the good fortune to find Dr. Anderson here in the same hotel, which makes me feel very much more at home. He will leave in a day or two for Rome, and thence for Calcutta to see the transit of Venus — He has bought a telescope here of the most approved kind, furnished himself with all sorts of books and charts that may be of service to him and accompanied by his two lady companions he will doubtless have a glorious time in the way of star gazing — I must say however that I pity the ladies.

I propose starting for Belgium at latest on this day week, and on Monday of the week following hope to be on my way to Rome. You will oblige me very much by ascertaining from your copy of my *extraordinary faculties* the letters of the alphabet by which they are designated — There are, I think, three separate printed sheets or pages each marked by a letter of the alphabet — I discover that in my Report I have left a blank which I forgot to fill up. In answering, direct to the Hotel de la Minerve, Rome.

I have not had time to see many persons or things in Paris. I believe there are few of my American friends now in the city. I hope your health is improved and that all goes on smoothly. The weather here is quite cool. In fact with the exception of the two first days at sea, I have not felt what would by us be called a warm day since I left home. I have been wearing almost winter clothing and sleeping

under a blanket every night. My story will be different, no doubt, in a few weeks hence.

Dr. Anderson wishes to be kindly remembered to you.

With best wishes and regards, believe me,

Very Revd. Sir,

Very truly your fr. and bro. in Xt.,

✠ John, Abp. of N. York

Another letter from Rome, dated September 16, 1874, tells of his reception in the Holy City, and of his plan to return *via* Brest in the latter part of October, or in the beginning of November:

Very Rev. dear Father Preston:

Both your kind letters I received yesterday. The one of later date came to hand in the morning, the other in the afternoon. They were doubly welcome for the reason that they were the first I had received since my arrival here. I am glad that you are now well enough to resume your duties. But it will be necessary for you to spare yourself a little more in the future than you have done in the past. I arrived here on the last day of August, and having now got through my work am preparing to resume my journey homeward. There being but few strangers in Rome at this season, there has been no difficulty or delay in having access to the Holy Father or to the Cardinal Prefect and Secretary of the Propaganda. I had my first audience the second day after my arrival and will have my parting one before the end of this week. So that I expect to leave Rome on Tuesday next.

Nearly all whom I know are out of town — the Rector and students of all the colleges, Dr. Smith, Monsignor Nardi, Monsignors Stuart and Cataldi are in various parts on their vacation tour. I found Dr. Anderson and friends in this hotel when I arrived. This has made it very pleasant for me. They left on Sunday morning. Bishop Bacon is still in the hospital at Brest. He unfortunately had a relapse caused by his saying Mass and giving Communion to nearly a hundred persons on the Feast of the Assumption. He will await my return, and we propose to sail together from Brest in the latter part of October or beginning of November. I am very anxious to make a visit to Lourdes, and hope to do so on my way towards Brest. There is no special news here. All are waiting for the miraculous restoration. Things are sadly changed.

Remember me most kindly to all my friends who may think it worth while to inquire concerning me. My health, thank God, continues good. Hoping that you will take good care of your own, and wishing you every blessing, I remain,

Very Rev. dear Sir
Very truly yr. fr. and bro. in Xt.,
✠ John, Abp. of N. York

He reached New York on November 4, 1874 and the following Sunday, he addressed his people in the Cathedral, calling to their attention the fact that Almighty God, Who had so generously watched over him in his journey, had called to his reward the Bishop who had accompanied him — Bishop Bacon of Port-

land, Me. Bishop Bacon died the day after they reached New York, November 5, 1874. He became ill on the ship when they were going over to France in July, and was forced to remain in the Naval Hospital of Brest, until Archbishop McCloskey began the return journey. The bronze altar of the Sacred Heart, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, was erected by Archbishop McCloskey as a memorial to his friend. To have seen the two prelates together on shipboard, — the one strong and vigorous, the cherished friend of the Catholic and non-Catholic people of Portland, and the other weighed down with the cares of a large archdiocese, and still bearing the signs of that frail physique which had been his lot since boyhood, no one would have thought that the stronger of the two was to be called to his eternal reward that year, and that the other would live a decade as the first prince of the Church in America.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST PRINCE OF THE CHURCH IN AMERICA (1875–1885)

Archbishop McCloskey Created Cardinal Priest of the Church. Ceremony of Reception of Cardinal's Biretta. Celebration at the "Mountain." Leaves for Europe. Testimonial from Irish Hierarchy. Letters to Father Preston. Death of Dr. Anderson. The Cardinal's Sermon. Election of Leo XIII. Cardinal McCloskey at the Coronation. Dedication of St. Patrick's Cathedral. Archbishop Ryan's Sermon. Appointment of Bishop Corrigan as Coadjutor to Cardinal McCloskey. Golden Jubilee of the Cardinal's Priesthood. Failing Health. The Third Plenary Council. The Last Years. Sickness and Death. Funeral Discourse by Cardinal Gibbons.

ARCHBISHOP JOHN McCLOSKEY had always spent the day of March tenth as a day of spiritual holiday. It was his birthday as well as the anniversary of his episcopal consecration. His sixty-fifth anniversary was to bring him the greatest honor the Holy Father of the Faithful can bestow. On March 7, he received a cablegram from Father Lewis, pastor of St. Mary's church, Clifton, Staten Island, who was then in Rome, telling him that his name was mentioned among the Cardinals to be created at the public Consistory of March 15. On

Thursday, March 9, McMaster, editor of the *New York Freeman's Journal*, called at the archbishop's residence and informed His Grace that he had been informed by cablegram from Rome to the same effect. Later in the day, the archbishop received the following message from his agent, Cavaliere Scalzi: "*Rallegramenti Cardinalato. Attendo instruzioni, pagare spese, consistorio, brevi, bolle* — Congratulations on your elevation to the Cardinalate. I await instructions in regard to meeting the expenses of Consistory, Briefs, and Bulls. Scalzi." This placed the matter beyond doubt.

The next morning, the thirty-first anniversary of his consecration, his secretary went to his room after breakfast to congratulate His Grace and to wish him *ad multos annos*. He addressed him for the first time as "Your Eminence." He stayed about an hour and they talked over the suddeness of the news. "It was none of my will," said the Cardinal, "they never told me anything about it, when I was in Rome last Autumn. The only hint I received, and which I perceive now was meant to be a hint to me, was the manner in which Cardinal Franchi addressed me. 'You can speak to me as a brother now,' he said. That I took only as a sign of friendship, as an Italian expression of warm attachment, but now I think they must have had this in view." His Eminence also said: "Oh! it was Cardinal Cullen who got me into this box!" On March 15, Cardinal McCloskey was preconized, in public Consistory by Pius IX. Cardinal Franchi cabled that same day: "Preconizzato Cardinale odierno Consistorio. Scrissi 24 Febbraio. Ablegato

Roncetti: Guardia Marefoschi. Baltimora imporra biretta. Franchi." The first American Cardinal in the history of the Church took the news very quietly, and the only thing that gave him any concern was that the expenses incidental to his elevation would lessen his ability to contribute as generously as he wished to the new cathedral. It was found finally that the expenses were very small.

The official announcement of his elevation was received in the United States with universal applause. Catholics and Protestants felt that no one was more worthy, as a representative of the American Church, to receive the highest honor in the gift of the Holy See. It was the strongest proof that the old-time prejudice was passing away and that the era of good feeling and brotherhood was fairly well begun. Expressions of joy reached him from all sides. His old friend, Bishop de Goesbriand wrote to him in March, 1875: "With sincere joy I have read about the intention of the Holy Father to create Your Grace one of the members of the Sacred College of Cardinals. Please accept my congratulations. It strikes me that this deserved promotion draws our Church of America closer to the heart of the Church. I consider it as a presage of still greater benedictions which I hope its Divine Founder will pour upon it. May you live long for the welfare of our dear country, and please accept the assurance that the Bishop of Burlington will continue, with an increase of respect toward your person on account of the new dignity, to entertain towards you sentiments of very sincere affection."

Bishop Ryan of Buffalo, sent the following letter:

BUFFALO, *March* 12, 1875

Monseigneur:

I hesitated in writing the above address, and I do not know but that I should have written *Eminence* instead, as I really have taken up the pen to offer you my heartiest congratulations on your elevation to the high dignity and great honor of first American Cardinal. To you I know the dignity was unlooked for and to you personally it may be of little consequence, yet it is an honor for the hierarchy of the United States and if it was to come, you will allow me very frankly, but very sincerely, to say that in my humble opinion it has very properly and rightly fallen on yourself and on New York. We wish you then from our hearts many long years yet in your new dignity, which I am sure will set very becomingly on you, and we shall always be proud to have a Cardinal Archbishop of New York and Prince of the Court of Rome and Elector of the Sovereign Pontiff to preside at our Council Board. I may be premature and perhaps officious in this but please to accept it as the expression of the genuine sentiments of Your Eminence's devoted friend and brother in Christ.

✠STEPHEN V. RYAN, BP. OF BUFFALO

The Rector of the Irish College in Rome, Dr. Kirby offered his congratulations in the letter which follows:

ROME, 15 *March*, 1875

My dear Lord Cardinal:

The important Consistory has just been celebrated by the Holy Father which gives to America its first

Cardinal in the person of the illustrious Bishop of New York. And I hasten to offer to Your Eminence my most sincere congratulations and those of the humble Irish College of Rome on the happy event of this your elevation to the Sacred Purple, so well merited, not only by your exalted ecclesiastical position in the church of the Western Hemisphere, but also, and much more, by your learning, zeal and important services rendered to our holy religion. There is only one voice in Catholic Rome on the subject of your Eminence's promotion —that of joy, and congratulation, with which you may rest assured few more cordially unite than your sincere and most devoted friends in the Irish College.

His Holiness is happily in excellent health, and is quite proud of this, his latest grand act, which will excite a thrill of joy through the entire Christendom.

Again offering Your Eminence my most sincere and heartfelt congratulations and kissing devoutly the sacred purple, I have the honor to be, with most profound veneration,

Your Eminence's most devoted and humble servant,

T. Kirby

Father Isaac Hecker, who was then in Rome writes a beautifully worded appreciation of the honor the Holy See had conferred on the United States:

Rome, *March* 16, 1875

Eminence:

The rumor current here for some time past that you were to be named Cardinal must have reached you, if the event was not already known to you before.

Discretion as well as a certain delicacy of feeling made me hesitate, until the rumor became this morning a fact, to express to you my sincere congratulations.

The choice of the Supreme Pontiff in making you the first Cardinal of the hierarchy in the United States gives great satisfaction here to all your friends. For as honors and dignities in the Church proceed by only distinguished merit and abilities, the qualities which they have always recognized and esteemed in you, are by this event made known to the whole world.

This elevation to the Cardinalate of an American prelate is a cheering sign that the dignities of the Church are open to men of merit of all nations, and it is to be hoped that every nation will be represented in this College of Cardinals in proportion to its importance and in this way the Holy See will be represented by its eminent advisers in the entire world, and thus render its universality more complete. The Church will be a gainer and the world too; and I have no doubt that your appointment to this new office in the Church, will be from this point of view, popular with the American people.

Your elevation to this great office will increase opportunities of your accomplishing greater good for the Holy Church, it will be, therefore to your faith and zeal, a great source of true joy.

That you may have the grace with health and strength to fulfill for a long period the new duties imposed upon you, is my most sincere wish, which wish will be the constant prayer of

Your ever sincere and humble servant in Xt.,

I. G. Hecker

None the less interesting are the letters which reached him from Rectors of the Provincial Seminary of Troy, and of the American Colleges of Rome and Louvain. The present Bishop of Ogdensburg, then the Rector of Troy Seminary, wrote in French of which the following letter is a translation:

PROVINCIAL SEMINARY OF ST. JOSEPH
TROY, N. Y., *March* 18, 1875

Your Eminence:

Will you not permit your friends of the Provincial Seminary of St. Joseph to join their voices to the universal concert of approbation and gratitude which has been caused by Your Eminence's elevation to the Cardinalate of the Holy Roman Church. It is to Your Eminence, after God, to whom we owe everything. You have done more than anyone to establish and maintain this Institution, and among the works which have merited for Your Eminence this high distinction, we dare to flatter ourselves that not the least of them is this Seminary, so dear to your heart. We beg you to accept these congratulations which I offer in my own name as well as in that of my confreres, and of the student-body of the Seminary. We shall ever be proud to labor under the direction of Your Eminence. Asking your blessing for the Provincial Seminary, I have the honor to be

Your Eminence's
Most obedient and devoted servant
H. GABRIELS
President

The Cardinal replied as follows:

New York, *March* 21, 1875

Very Rev. dear Sir:

I beg to thank you very sincerely for the kind words of congratulation which you have addressed to me both in your name and in that of the professors of the Provincial Seminary.

Be assured that the new dignity which has been so unexpectedly bestowed upon me shall never lessen but rather increase my earnest exertions for the continued prosperity of the institution over which you so worthily preside, as well as my sense of esteem and gratitude towards yourself and the reverend confreres who are so devoted to this all important work.

Wishing you health and blessings,

I remain, Very Rev. Sir, Very truly yours in J.C.,

✠John, Abp. of N. Y.

From Rome, came the following important letter from the present Bishop of Indianapolis, then Rector of the American College:

Your Eminence:

It is hardly needful that I should express the gratification with which in common with your numerous friends everywhere, we at the American College received the news of your Eminence's exaltation to a place in the August Senate of the Vicar of Christ For myself I had a triple motive for thankfulness, — as a Catholic, an American, and I may say too a Mountaineer, independently of any more personal motives with respect to yourself. We have all rejoiced in this

choice of the Holy Father, and pray God to give Your Eminence all those graces called for by your important position.

It will not be useless perhaps to say a few practical words regarding the events that will soon transpire in America on the arrival of the Apostolic Ablegate, Monsignor Roncetti, who takes with him Professor Ubaldi.

With regard to these, it is a work of supererogation for me to state that it is usual that they be the guests of the Cardinal, newly-created. They will all, the Conte Marefoschi included, reach New York on the same day. As soon as they land, the Conte Marefoschi, charged with the biglietto from His Eminence, the Cardinal Secretary of State, and with the zuchetto, will go at once to your residence, and enquire when it will please Your Eminence, to receive him. On the evening of that day or the following one, the time being named by you, he will present himself in full uniform to Your Eminence dressed in your archiepiscopal robes, and will with a few words present the biglietto with the zuchetto or calotte. The next evening Monsignor Roncetti will present the birretta. His Grace, the Most Rev. Archbishop of Baltimore will receive an invitation from the Holy Father to impose the birretta, in his name. This ceremony it is desired here should be publicly performed in the Cathedral of New York. Two thrones should be erected in the sanctuary, the one for Your Eminence on the Gospel side, the other for His Grace, the Archbishop of Baltimore, on the Epistle side. A Pontifical High Mass should be celebrated either by the Most Rev. Arch-

bishop of Baltimore, or another, at the choice of Your Eminence; the latter possibly being preferable. At the end of the Mass, Your Eminence and His Grace being at your respective thrones, the Ablegate, dressed as a Cameriere Segreto, will approach to the throne of the Most Rev. Archbishop of Baltimore, and will read the Brief of the Holy Father, giving him the charge of imposing the cardinalitial birretta. He will then make an address in which he will, as is usual, expose the reasons held by His Holiness in determining his choice of Your Eminence, and the Most Rev. Archbishop will reply, accepting the charge. Your Eminence will reply to both the Most Rev. Archbishop, and the Ablegate. After this both Your Eminence and His Grace will leave your thrones, come to the middle of the sanctuary, go together to the Altar, and ascend to the platform, where you will stand facing each other. The Ablegate will stand at the left of the Most Rev. Archbishop of Baltimore, and on receiving the birretta from his Secretary, will hand it to His Grace who will place it on the head of Your Eminence. This done, both will descend the steps of the Altar, and a *Te Deum* will close the ceremony.

If there be any need, as there may be, of further direction in this matter, Monsignor Roncetti will of course be happy to inform Your Eminence's master of ceremonies. The above, it has been judged well to communicate in advance. Besides this office, in respect to the conferring of the insignia of the cardinalitial dignity, Monsignor Roncetti is charged with the Briefs, and Palliums for the four new Archbishoprics. He has no other office entrusted to him; but I think,

as he is a very intelligent person, it will be well to have him see as much of the Church in America as possible, for the information he may get will certainly redound to the good of our Catholic people. I take it for granted that the Papal Allocution was published in New York on the morning of the 15th. This was done that the document might not be tampered with, the *Herald* agent having promised to transmit it entire. It was not published in Rome until the second day after. The Holy Father himself gave the copy for transmission.

As it is late, and the shortness of the time makes it advisable to send at once, the Ablegate having started today for America, I must close.

Rev. I. Hecker, as a member of the Council of Your Eminence, today gave a dinner to Monsignor Roncetti at this College, which I think has given pleasure generally.

Praying God to preserve you many years yet of usefulness and merit, in the enjoyment of a well-merited reward, and that His blessing may attend your works, I have the honour to be

Your Eminence's most obedient humble servant in Christ

SILAS M. CHATARD
Rector, American College, Rome.

The student-body of the American College of Louvain was no less enthusiastic in its joy over the honor, and on May 27, 1875, they sent the following letter, signed by the Rector, the professors, and themselves to the Cardinal. The letter is in the handwriting of Samuel B. Spalding, a nephew of the Archbishop of Baltimore:

American College, Louvain, Belgium

Most beloved Cardinal:

In all the absorbing joy of this glad occasion, when all eyes and hearts are turned upon our newly created Cardinal, we hope it will not be thought unbecoming if we, a college of missionaries, children of the Church, and devoted soldiers of our infallible Pontiff, should offer to you our sincere felicitations and raise our voice in unison with entire America in congratulating you who have been found worthy of such a dignity. In calling you to the signal honor of a seat in the Supreme Council of Christendom, Our Holy Father has crowned forty years of sacerdotal devotedness and an apostolate distinguished by the most brilliant success. It is an occasion well calculated to fill the hearts of the faithful with joy and will always remind us of the paternal care and solicitude of Our Holy Father, the Pope, who, although persecuted on all sides by enemies, does not forget his most distant children.

By your elevation to the Cardinalate, His Holiness has forged a new link in that golden chain which will draw us more closely if possible, around the feet of our persecuted Father. Scarcely half a century has elapsed, since the erection of the first episcopal See in our country and already we possess more than sixty. We have often hoped that on account of our numbers and increasing influence, the Holy Father would favor us with a voice in the august senate of the Church, and now we rejoice to see our hope realized in the choice of a prelate who has governed with so much zeal and ability one of the most important dioceses in America. It marks a new epoch in the history of the Church in our

country. If we can judge of the future by the past what bright prospects are in store for the American Church. With a Cardinal distinguished for his learning and piety, with a hierarchy as devoted as zealous, we may predict a glorious future.

In conclusion, we wish Your Eminence a long life and pray that God may give you a generous perseverance in defence of the faith for which you are called to combat in the first rank; that you may cause our Sovereign Pontiff, Pius IX, to be loved more and more and that you may receive strength in procuring the extension of the Kingdom of God.

Accept these, Your Eminence, as the fervent sentiments of,

Your respectful and devoted servants,

J. J. Pulsers,
President and Prof. of Moral Theol & Can. Law
S. Goens, *Vice-President*
T. Willemsen, *Prof. of dogm. Theol.*
P. D. Marty, *Prof. of Holy Scripture*
etc., etc.

May 27, 1875.

The arrangements for the bestowal of the biretta, of which there is mention in Dr. Chatard's letter of March 19, were immediately begun. On April 8, 1875, Cardinal McCloskey wrote to Archbishop Bayley, as follows:

Most Rev. dear Archbishop:

You are doubtless already aware of the arrival of the messengers from Rome. The Ablegate has written to you, and he informs me that you ought ere this to be

in receipt of a letter from Cardinal Antonelli, informing you that the Holy Father has appointed you to confer the biretta, as his representative.

I hope sincerely that the rumor of your approaching promotion to the Cardinalate may prove true.

The ceremony here will take place, if all can be in readiness, on the 22nd inst. The Ablegate spoke of going in the meantime to pay you a visit. I told him that I thought you would prefer to meet him here, and invite him to accompany you to Baltimore after the ceremony.

Be so kind as to let me hear from you.

Very truly your friend and brother in Xt.,

JOHN CARD. MCCLOSKEY
Abp. of N. Y.

A second letter, dated April 11, treats of the same matter:

Most Rev. and dear Archbishop:

I am sorry that the ceremony cannot be so arranged as to be without inconvenience to you, or without interfering with appointments already made. But unfortunately I have to await the arrival from France of an indispensable portion of the Cardinal's robes. They were to have been sent by the same steamer which brought the Ablegate and his companions; but I learn by cable dispatch received yesterday that I may expect them by the steamer which sailed on that day (10th inst.) This will cause a further delay, so that we cannot fix on an earlier day than the 27th. The Ablegate might in the meantime, pay you a visit.

I shall speak to him on the subject, before closing this note.

It may be well for you to know that the Ablegate in the public function, when he hands you the biretta which you are to impose on the head of your humble servant, will address you in Latin, to which it is expected that you will reply in the same tongue. In giving me the biretta you are again to say a few words, after which I have to respond to you and address the Ablegate.

All this they say is *de rigeur*.

It is for Your Grace also to say whether you will pontificate on the occasion, or whether you wish me to invite another prelate.

I hope you will not blame me for having become the innocent cause of so much trouble. I trust it will be possible for you to get Bishop Becker or Bishop Gibbons to help you out in your visitation.

Commending myself to your sympathies and prayers, I remain very truly your friend and brother in Xt.,

JOHN, CARD. ABP. OF NEW YORK

P.S. I have spoken to the Ablegate Apostolic who informs me that he has made engagements which will hold him here and hereabouts until the 21st. That he will be happy to leave here for Baltimore on the 22nd to present to Your Grace his credentials, and if it so please you, to return with you to New York.

The letter which he wrote to you failed to be sent to the post before today.

Finally, the ceremony was definitely fixed for April 27th:

N. Y. *Apl.* 15, 1875

Most Rev. dear Archbishop:

The ceremony is definitely fixed for Tuesday the 27th inst. The Ablegate having made an appointment to dine with some friends whom he is unwilling to disappoint, will not be free to leave here for Baltimore before Wednesday morning of next week. He is very anxious to pay his respects to you in person, and would have done so earlier had he been sure of finding you at home. He is the bearer of the apostolic letters for the Bishop-Elect of Wheeling. He is spending to-day with the Franciscan Fathers of the Italian Church, and most probably will write you to-morrow.

We will expect Dr. Foley on next Tuesday.

Believe me as ever, dear Monseigneur,

Your brother and friend in Xto.,

JOHN, CARD. ABP. OF N. YORK

The investiture was one of the most memorable events in the history of the Church in the United States. The biretta was imposed by Archbishop Bayley, as delegate of the Apostolic See, and the bearers of the cardinalitial insignia, Monsignor Roncetti, Dr. Ubaldi, and Count Marefoschi, were present and took their important parts in the brilliant scene. Cardinal McCloskey's sentiments on this great occasion were known to all. His humility kept him from accepting the honor as a personal one, for he saw in it solely a distinction conferred upon the Church in America, of which he considered himself the unworthiest representative. "Not to my poor merits," he says, "but to those of the young and already vigorous and most

flourishing Catholic Church of America has this honor been given by the Supreme Pontiff. Nor am I unaware that, when the Holy Father determined to confer upon me this honor he had regard to the dignity of the See of New York, to the merits and devotion of the venerable clergy and numerous laity, and that he had in mind even the eminent rank of this great city and the glorious American nation."

None rejoiced more in the honor which had been conferred on Cardinal McCloskey than the president, faculty and students of his old Alma Mater, — Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg. A committee of the alumni called upon His Eminence and invited him to be present at the commencement exercises that year. Dr. McSweeny, the historian of the Mountain writes:

"The 23d of June, 1875, saw the greatest and grandest event that up to this took place at the Mountain, the reception to America's first Cardinal, her son. The concourse of visitors greatly exceeded the accommodations, so that the students and Seminarians were forced to sleep in the outer buildings or in the open air. The programme was carried out on a grand scale, coupled as it was with commencement exercises, enlivened by the finest music (among the bands present being that of Fort McHenry), and graced by the talent and dignity of the American Church. The scene was a spirited, a glorious one, favorably impressing not only the American prelates present but the Papal dignitaries themselves."

The *Catholic Mirror* of that week tells how the Cardinal with Mgr. Roncetti, the Papal Delegate, and

Dr. Ubaldi, the latter's Secretary, came on Monday, June 23, driving up from Mechanicstown (Thurmont), as the Emmitsburg railway was not yet open. On Tuesday, the Cardinal and the Delegate said Mass in the Old Church on the Hill. Tuesday afternoon saw an entertainment by the boys and a reception at the convent by the girls. On Wednesday the Cardinal said Mass in the college chapel, and at half past eight the commencement exercises began. A special train leaving Baltimore at 5.30 A.M. brought a large delegation, which arrived after nine. Father Edward Sourin, S.J., '30, opened with an address to his old schoolmate and a poem, then came the boys' speeches, then the doctorate in theology was conferred by Georgetown on the President, Father McCloskey, who read a reply in Latin and rendered it in English afterwards, alluding incidently to his venerable friend and predecessor, Dr. McCaffrey, who, being called on, made a characteristic speech. The distribution of prizes came after lunch, as well as the valedictory and the Cardinal's charming address. "Whatever I am, whatever I may be, under God's Providence, I owe to this institution more than any other here or elsewhere. Hurrah for the Old Mountain!" and he waved his red biretta. Words fail to describe the enthusiasm. No one can appreciate it but one who realizes that this was the first Cardinal of the American continent and that he was a child of the most genuinely American college.

The Cardinal replied to the addresses read to him in the following graceful words: . . . "When the great ceremony which you have heard my friend from early

youth (Father Sourin) describe in a style so ornamented with poetical imagination, — when that terminated in the Cathedral of New York, my thoughts were more and more drawn to the dear old Mountain, the scene of so much of my youthful happiness. I was filled with a desire to visit it as soon as time and circumstances would permit. I resolved to visit it, not to receive such an ovation as has been tendered to me and the other Bishops today, but to make a pilgrimage to the sacred spot where I had knelt when a boy and an ecclesiastic in the seminary, where I imbibed those lessons in whose spirit I have walked till now; where I received my first call to devote myself to God and the service of the Church. I came not so much to renew by copious draughts of the mountain air my bodily health, but much rather my spiritual health, so that I might be fitted for the work which still remains for me to do. I came to renew my vows before the altar where I first pronounced them. I came in truth a pilgrim to the shrines of my early life. . . . Alas! how few are there left when I look around me here or elsewhere! How few there are who were boys or ecclesiastics with me! One by one they have dropped away. Father Sourin, your venerable president, and one or two others are all that are left who were with me in rhetoric or theology. I thought, as I sat here, how soon the first generation of Mountaineers has passed away. I look to you gentlemen of the graduating class. You are to grow to take their places. You are to be the standard-bearers of the College, but you are to carry it higher than your predecessors, for you have a smoother way and a greater encouragement.

All you need is God's blessing. May you be a blessing to the Church and to your families, and after a happy life on earth, may you have a still happier future! I thank you for all your kindness, which I have not been able to witness without swelling emotions. I say simply in parting that if in this honor any church or diocese has been particularly honored, what place has a right to claim a larger share in the honor than Mount St. Mary's, to which I am indebted for what I have been, for what I am, for what I may be in the future."

An eye-witness of this brilliant scene has described it as follows: "I can see the Cardinal this minute as plainly as on that occasion, and I am not given to seeing things, when he rose from his seat on his great satin throne, on the back of which was suspended a laurel wreath, and the top of which was tipped by a big bouquet of cardinal roses specially sent by the New York *Herald* for the occasion. When the tremendous cheering subsided, the Cardinal pointed his long thin finger at the clock over the prayer bench and said: 'Nothing would give me more pleasure than to speak as I wish to the graduates and students, but the hands of yonder clock warn me that time is flying fast. If, in the dignity conferred upon me, the Church, the Diocese of New York, or the United States, have been honored, what place in the United States is more entitled to that honor than Mount Saint Mary's College, to which institution I am indebted for all I have?'

"It was the unanimous opinion that the Cardinal on this occasion made one of the most felicitous

speeches of his life, filled as it was with touching and loving remembrances of his Alma Mater; and the great audience went away with the gratification and conviction that a loving son had brought home his laurels and had laid them at the feet of his benign mother, acknowledging that to her alone was the glory."

On Saturday, August 7, 1875, Cardinal McCloskey and his Secretary, Father John M. Farley, sailed from New York for Havre. While in Paris, they met Monsignor Roncetti and Dr. Ubaldi. Cardinal McCloskey also sat for his portrait at Healy's studio there. They arrived in Rome, Thursday, September 7, and on Thursday, the Cardinal wrote to Father Preston:

American College, Rome, *Sept. 9th.* 1875

Dear Father Preston:

Your kind letter of the 18th inst. was handed to me by Monsignor Chatard just after my arrival here on Tuesday evening 7th. inst. Monsignor Cataldi, whom we met in Paris, accompanied us to Rome. We were received at the station by Card. Franchi, who gave me a truly paternal embrace and greeting, and by the Rector of the College, Monsignor Roncetti, Dr. Smith and others, who all gave me a hearty welcome. Yesterday evening I was received by the Holy Father in private audience. He is looking remarkably well, notwithstanding the almost daily fatigue he has to undergo in giving audiences, making addresses, etc. He seemed to be much gratified by the offering from New York and especially by the manner in which the appointment of a first Cardinal has been received by

the country at large. The day of the Consistory is not definitely fixed. It will not be sooner than the 23d or 26th. I am still ignorant of what title will be assigned to me.

Sept. 9th. — This morning I have received your second letter. I am much pleased to hear that everything is going on well and quietly. The Retreat I hope will be fruitful in good results. I have not yet had the pleasure of seeing either ——— or ———. They are both in the city and are soon to call to make the presentation of a mitre and cappa magna, the gift of kind American friends in Rome. I am very much pestered with petitions of various kinds; quite a pile of them is already on my table, yet I am here only two days. How will it be in ten or twenty days more! It is hard for me to tell at the present writing what amount of expense I shall have to incur. The present prospect is somewhat alarming. But alas! there is no means of escape. Monsignor Chatard has fitted up apartments for me here very handsomely, and as all the students are at Albano, I do not feel myself in anybody's way. Msgr. Chatard himself is all kindness, and sees that nothing is wanting to my comfort. Dr. Smith was here just now and desires to be kindly remembered to you. He is looking remarkably well and is as obliging as ever. I cannot as yet form any correct idea of the length of time I may be detained here. One thing is certain that I shall take my departure as soon as I am free to do so. The weather's not very warm at present, and it is hoped that the great heats have passed. There are very few strangers in Rome, which I do not at all regret.

Remember me kindly to all at home. Hoping to hear from you soon, and wishing you health and blessing,

I remain,

Very truly your friend and servant in Christ,

JOHN CARD. McCLOSKEY
Abp. of New York

While in Rome, Cardinal McCloskey received a letter of congratulation from his old friend Cardinal Cullen, which was accompanied by an address from the Irish Hierarchy:

DUBLIN, 21*st Sept.* 1875

My Lord Cardinal:

The Bishops of Ireland assembled in a National Synod at Maynooth during the last weeks determined to address a letter of congratulation to Your Eminence on the occasion of your promotion to the dignity of Cardinal, and at the same time to thank you for your zealous labors in favor of our poor countrymen in America.

I am happy to forward this letter to your Eminence, and I need scarcely say that I cordially agree with the Irish Bishops in all the good wishes they express in your regard. I hope your visit to Rome has been agreeable as far as possible in these bad times, and that you have found our Holy Father well and vigorous.

Kissing your hand with respect, I remain,

Your Eminence's humble servant in Christ

PAUL CARD. CULLEN

P.S. I hope your Eminence will visit Ireland and Dublin especially on your return from Rome.

ADDRESS

Eminence:

We the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland assembled in the first session of our National Synod, before commencing our work of legislation for the people committed to our care, deem it a duty to express our feelings of reverence and paternal affection for the Princes of the Church whom we are more specially bound to honor.

The name of Your Eminence was announced and hailed with hearty acclamation.

For many reasons we rejoice that you have been enrolled in the illustrous Senate of the Church, and that you are now among the trusted Councillors of our Sovereign Pontiff — the Infallible Vicar of Christ.

Your Eminence is one of our race and the honor conferred on the Church of America by your elevation to the Purple is largely shared by the Church of Ireland, which feels a Mother's pride in the glory of her distant Children.

The people over whom Your Eminence presides are in large number the children of our own loved land. Many more who are as yet at the Mother's breast, will be placed under your fostering care. Though we part with them with sorrow, we rejoice that they shall be transferred to the jurisdiction of a Prince of the Church whose love will be not less than our own, and under whose strong guardianship their souls will be in safe and holy keeping.

We have had the happiness of personal acquaintance with Your Eminence. We remember the gentle

courtesy which marked your intercourse with us during the Vatican Council. We remember the enlightened wisdom with which Your Eminence directed our deliberations; and we do not wonder that our Sovereign Pontiff should have selected you from among the assembled Prelacy of the Catholic world to be his helper and adviser in the government of the Universal Church.

We see the hierarchy of the United States, with the instinctive energy of its nation taking a foremost place amongst the heirarchies of the world. The name of Your Eminence is now and will be forever associated with its prosperity and its glory. We pray that you may long live to witness its increase, and to be the *decus et tutamen* of the faithful people whom God has blessed in your ministry.

In the name of twenty-seven Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland assembled in the National Synod of Maynooth.

PAUL CARD. CULLEN, *Archbishop of Dublin*
President of the Plenary Synod of Maynooth.

GEORGE CONROY, *Bishop of Ardagh.*
GERALD MOLLOY, S.T.D., *a secretis.*
GULIELMUS J. WALSH, S.T.D., *a secretis.*
WALTER CANON LEE, *Chancellor.*

MAYNOOTH, *Sept.* 20, 1875.

On September 30, 1875, Cardinal McCloskey took possession of his church — that of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, where the first Bishop of New York, the Right Rev. Luke Concanen once lived. On October 3, His Eminence's secretary wrote a long letter to

Taking Possession of his Titular Church, Santa Maria sopra Minerva

Father Preston, telling him of their movements since their arrival a month before:

American College, Rome, *Oct. 3rd*, 1875.

Very Rev. and dear Father Preston:

I hasten to thank you for your kind letter which I received some days ago, but have not had a moment up to the present to answer it. In fact I never had my hands full till I came to Rome, and if you asked me what it was all about I could not tell you. Well you may judge for yourself. Here is the skeleton of our history since reaching Rome on September 7th. Next day was consumed in visiting the Holy Father, Cardinal Antonelli and Cardinal Franchi, who was so exceedingly kind as to meet His Eminence of New York at the depot with his own carriage and convey him to the American College — quite an unusual attention on the part of a Roman Cardinal. The Holy Father was very kind and warm in his reception of his Eminence. I had the honor and blessing of being admitted and being spoken to and of speaking to the Holy Father, at the close of His Eminence's audience. Don't believe the reports about the ravages made in his looks by time or trouble. I could hardly perceive any change after five years. I have seen him three times or four since, and almost always without a cane walking at a regular trot. The succeeding days up to September 17th — day of Consistory — was taken up in paying visits, either personally or by card, to the Cardinals now resident in Rome. They returned the visits punctually next day or day following. The Consistory was an event. With Monsignor Chatard (of whose elevation

to the Prelacy you have doubtless heard), I got into a "cubby hole" through the contrivance of the master of ceremonies and the connivance of cameriere so that we could see the whole proceedings of the Secret Consistory. We saw the Cardinal getting the ring and title of which you will have read before this reaches you. There were some twenty-four Cardinals present on the occasion. One or two visits to the Holy Father, during which His Eminence of New York walked in the library with the Pope — which, by the way, is the duty, not the privilege, of Cardinals calling at the hour of his walk; a day at the College in Albano and receiving visits from sundry nobles and prelates filled to the 30th., when the ceremony of taking possession was held. It was a grand sight, notwithstanding the "dead season" and the necessary privacy that now attends those once glorious celebrations. I cannot here enter into a description, besides, you will have read it when this reaches you. Through all the fatigue of travel and ceremony and hot weather His Eminence is in better health, by far, than when he left New York. He delivered quite a long address in Italian and another in English on that occasion. The papers spoke highly of his Italian.

We expect to be able to start from Rome by tomorrow week — 11th or 12th. Can't yet say when we may sail from Queenstown. I send you at His Eminence's request the new formula for heading letters, which you may have printed at once; his new arms and the motto replace the old. The Cardinal was sorry to hear of the death of poor Father McKenna, but had expected it. I was surprised to hear of Father Bod-

fish's new departure. Father Hecker will feel sad over it, I fear, on his reaching home. He sailed yesterday, from Liverpool I believe. Dr. Chatard thanks you sincerely for your kind regards and begs to return you his warmest wishes. He has been exceedingly kind and obliging to the Cardinal and myself since our arrival. I write to Father Quinn today so that 'tis not worth while telling you to present my kindest regards. Please remember me to Father Lynch, and believe me

Most sincerely yours in Xt.,

J. M. Farley

A second letter to Father Preston, written from the Bishop's House of St. Brieuc, France, on October 28, 1875 tells of the plans to return home:

Very Rev. and dear Father Preston:

I thought of writing you before leaving Paris but did not succeed; and now that I find here on my table, pen, ink and paper, though of the Evêché of St. Brieuc, I think I cannot better employ the spare half hour than by telling you a little more of our history. But first I may inform you that we have engaged our passages on the Cunard Str. *Abyssinia* which sails from Liverpool on 13th Nov. We go aboard at Queeenstown the following day. I wrote you last from Rome, I believe, after the ceremony of taking possession, of which you read in the papers more particulars than I could compress into a letter. Everything went off remarkably. on Saturday the 9th. The good Holy Father was much affected at the parting, for really he loves the Cardinal very much. Besides his presence in Rome was a source of great moral support, as is the presence of every

foreign Catholic and hence a sense of loneliness comes upon him on such occasions.

The week before leaving was a busy one. We had to spend a day at the Irish College Villa at Tivoli, and two days at the Propaganda Villa, where there was great rejoicing. These, with receiving all the callers and returning cards left His Eminence hardly a moment's breathing space. However we got things together and left on the 12th.

Paris, Nov. 1. I had to break off this letter in St. Brieuc and have not had an opportunity of returning to it till the present. Before leaving Rome we paid a last visit to the grand altar of our Cathedral. It was set up that His Eminence might see it all together. Well, I assure you, I have seen nothing equal to it in richness as an altar in all my travels. A portion of it is being made in St. Brieuc, which will be completed in about six weeks, so that the whole altar will be ready for transportation in less than two months.

To continue an account of our journey — Monsignor Roncetti accompanied us as far as Pisa. We took to the 18th to reach Paris, staying at Pisa, Genoa, Marseilles and Lyons on the way. The Cardinal's health seems to improve with fatigue. He is much better now even than when we left Paris. During the first four or five days after our return here, he made no calls but quietly rested incog. Soon however his presence became known to the Americans staying here and the tide of invitations began to pour in. Last Sunday evening, your kind friends, the O'Reillys, gave a magnificent reception at which some fifty Americans and others were present. Amongst them Viscount O'Neill of

Tyrone, Count Nugent, etc. The O'Reillys sent their kindest regards to you. Last Wednesday we started for St. Brieuc. I enjoyed the trip very much. We saw the work for the Virgin Altar, the throne, baptistry, and a portion of the high altar. Everything is near completion and promises a surprise such as New York has seldom undergone. We dined twice at the de Nantieuls — once at Mme. Nantieul's, sister of M. L. Binnse, and once at his nephew's, the Count de Nantieul. We got back to Paris on Friday evening. Sunday we were entertained at the Irish College where the Earl of Fingal and son met His Eminence and in the evening dined at Mr. Glover's, whom you know. We leave for London in the morning, then for Dublin, and then home again where I trust in God and by the assistance of your good prayers, we shall arrive safe and soon. Excuse the confusion of this letter as I have had to write it by scraps.

Yours in Christ,

J. M. Farley.

When the Cardinal reached Dublin on the return journey, the Lord Mayor of the city, Peter Paul McSweeney, gave him a public dinner. Cardinal Manning had also honored him at St. Mary of the Angels, Bayswater, London, where the eminent English churchman was then residing.

Shortly after his return to New York, the Cardinal lost one of his dearest friends, Dr. Henry Anderson, the scientist and educator. Dr. Anderson was born in New York on February 6, 1799, and after graduating from Columbia College, took up the study of medicine.

When twenty-six years old, he was appointed to the chair of mathematics and astronomy in Columbia, a post he occupied for a quarter of a century. As a geologist and astronomer, he had an international reputation. In 1849, he became a Catholic, and from that date till his death, was one of the leading Catholic laymen of the United States. In the Spring of 1875, he went to Calcutta to observe the transit of the planet Venus, and on the return journey, died at Lahore, in India. His body was brought to New York and buried on March 19, 1876. Cardinal McCloskey's sermon over his old friend was considered by many at the time as the finest tribute ever paid to a Catholic layman. Dr. Anderson's son, Ellery Anderson, writes to the Cardinal on March 20, 1876:

Your Eminence:

In the chorus of many voices that have with one accord rendered their tribute of love and honor to the memory of my dear father, there is one voice whose earnestness has caused it to be heard above all others and whose warm sympathy has touched my heart more deeply than any other, and that, Your Eminence, is your own. As I read again today those tender words so full of feeling and yet so delicately chosen that they could offend no one, that no heart would be so closed to human sympathy as to fail to respond, I feel a heart full of gratitude to you for the sweet and beautiful tribute you have paid to my dear father's memory. For those words which so long as I live I shall never forget, I do thank you with my whole heart. Truly the gentle and noble spirit of the dead has found a

fitting utterance through a spirit kin to him in gentleness and nobility.

Always yours with affection and respect,

G. Ellery Anderson

Cardinal McCloskey's sermon deserves a permanent place in this biography, but its length prevents us from giving it entirely. He said in part:

My Beloved Brethren:

We are told by the voice of inspired wisdom, that "it is better to enter the house of mourning than the house of feasting. For in that we are put in mind of the end of all, and think of what is to come." We have come this day into the house of God as into the house of mourning, for we are here in the presence of the dead. We are in the presence of those who are most truly mourners, and with whom we are united in sincerest sympathy. We come here as into the house of mourning, but our mourning is not without solace. The gloom of sorrow, and the darkness which seems to obscure from our vision what lies beyond the grave, is brightened by the radiance, the sweet and holy radiance of Christian faith and Christian hope, symbolized by the mystic lights that shine within the sanctuary, or flicker around the bier. But, while we are in the house of mourning, we are at the same time in the house of prayer, for God's house ceases never to be a house of prayer; we have come here to pray. We have come here especially to offer up our earnest and devout supplications for the eternal repose of the soul of the dear departed. This we have done by uniting our thoughts and intentions with those of the right

reverend prelate who stood just now at the altar, offering up what we hold to be the sublimest and most efficacious form of prayer, as well as the profoundest and most perfect act of homage and adoration to the Almighty God — the holy sacrifice of the Mass. If there have been those who have felt that they could not join us in this offering, I would fain believe that there is no breast here in which some sympathetic chord has not been touched with gentle soothing by the plaintive chants, the solemn ceremony, the impressive religious rites with which holy Church, as a fond mother, loves to honor those of her departed who have died, signed with the sign of faith and who repose, we trust, in the sleep of peace. And now, before the last sad office is performed around this bier of death, dear brethren, you will bear with me if I presume to add a few words of tribute to the memory of one whom in life we all so highly esteemed and so truly honored but in a more special manner, I may say, as expressive of our sympathy with those to whom the pang of separation and bereavement, always sore, has come with greater force and greater acuteness by reason of the fact that the beloved father and cherished relative and friend died far away from his home, in the midst of strangers, with but one faithful heart beside him That he had with him from the beginning. One who sat by his bedside and closed his eyes in death, performing with truly filial gratitude all the offices of a loving daughter, and bearing heroically the burden that God put upon her. She made all necessary preparations in that country where she was a stranger in order that his remains might be brought safely t

his home, and the consolation given as now to all of seeing the proper religious ceremonial performed before the altar that he loved. In the outside world, dearly beloved brethren, the name of Dr. Anderson is associated with that of the accomplished scholar, the learned scientist, the eminent professor, the genial friend, the wise counsellor, the cultivated gentleman, the lover of his country, the benefactor of his kind. But here within these sacred precincts, we do not care to speak, hardly to think, of these qualities, admirable though they be, because his learned science, his accomplishments, will sleep with him in the tomb or will avail him little or naught before the judgment seat. We think rather, and would rather speak of those qualities of mind and heart and soul, that have not died with him, which in this life were the high adornments of a pure soul, and which in the life wherein he now is, shine forth more brightly and more gloriously, winning for him, through the merits of merciful God and Saviour, an everlasting recompense and crown. We would think, and I would speak though briefly and imperfectly, of his virtues — and those virtues were very many. If we would wish to single out any one above the other, we should be at fault, so evenly were they balanced and so closely were they blended with one another. Still I think that there was one that dominated all the rest, especially from the hour in which he was first received into the bosom of the Catholic Church until the last hour of his life. That was his earnest, sincere and Christian faith. It may be truly said that, from the hour that he was received into the bosom of the Church, there was

hardly one of all her children impressed with a deepe
or fuller conviction of the truth of all the doctrine
that she proposes for our belief. Hardly one tha
listened with more docility to all her teachings, an
that sought to live up more closely, more fully to th
standard of life and conduct that she prescribes. An
yet, with all the earnestness of faith and depth o
devotion, he was most tolerant of all, no matter hov
much they differed from him, either in religious creed
or in human opinion. I do not know that in a lon
acquaintance with Dr. Anderson, I ever heard hin
give utterance to one harsh or resentful word, hardl
ever indulge in reproach or censure — even of thos
who had wounded, and wounded deeply, his religiou
feelings; hardly ever speak of the faults of another
for when he could not praise he preferred to be silent
He had that faith animated by charity, of which th
Gospel says: "Charity is patient, charity is kind
charity thinketh no evil, acteth not perversely, is no
puffed up, is not ambitious, is not selfish." He pos
sessed kindness and forebearance to a most wonderfu
degree. He was not puffed up, for with all his learn
ing, he had the simplicity and humility of a child
I remember to have heard from the lips of a mos
distinguished graduate of Oxford College, who, havin
made the acquaintance of Dr. Anderson, and havin
been brought frequently into his society, said to m
that he had rarely met a man of more varied, accurat
and profound learning, and still more rarely, one i
whom that learning was associated with deeper hu
mility. . . . He was thoroughly devoted to the Hol
Father, who in turn regarded him with special favo

and conferred honor upon him. On the occasion of his last visit to Rome, when I had the pleasure of being in company with him, he was twice received in private audience. The last, which was on the eve of his departure for the East, was a long, and to him, a most consoling one. He asked and received the Apostolic benediction for the long journey he was to undertake. It was truly a parting blessing, the last he was ever to receive. He went to Rome as a pilgrim of religion, he left as a pilgrim of science. . . . How widely his loss is felt, how universally lamented, is shown by the vast concourse that is here assembled to pay their last sad tribute of honor and respect. He was one of a school that is fast dying out among us and greatly to our regret. He was one of those high-toned, old-time, honorable Christian gentlemen who were looked up to with reverence by all. They are passing away, and, alas! their places are hardly being filled by others like them. We can ill afford to lose them, for they are needed, greatly needed, especially in this our day and generation. Our venerable friend has gone from us. He has more than fulfilled the term of years allotted to man on earth. His course was run, his task finished, God has called him to rest from his labors, to receive his reward. He has gone but his memory remains: the memory of his many virtues, of his good deeds, of his exemplary life and conduct. This he has bequeathed as a precious legacy to his family, more precious than gold and silver or broad lands. This he has left to us, that we may be encouraged to imitate his good example, and be consoled by the thought that "blessed are

the dead who die in the Lord, for their works follow them."

There was a question of the Cardinal's going to Rome in November 1877, to receive the Cardinal's hat, which can only be conferred by the Holy Father himself. Dr. Hostlot, the Rector of the American College wrote on November 14, 1877, to communicate to the Cardinal the wishes of Cardinal Simeone:

Your Eminence:

At the request of one of the Secretaries of Cardinal Simeone, who called here this morning, I communicate to you the following. There will be a Consistory about the middle of next month, and if it would be convenient for Your Eminence to come on and receive your cardinalitial hat, the Holy Father would be much pleased. Your Eminence however is at perfect liberty in the matter, to do as may seem proper. I write then merely to express their wish in this matter. The invitation is the same as that given to Your Eminence some months ago by Mgr. McNierny. I asked the Secretary why he did not communicate the wish of the Holy Father to Your Eminence personally, and not have me do it, but he replied, that if he would write himself, it might be interpreted as a command, so in order to avoid this, they have asked me to write. I told them moreover that in case your Eminence should come, there should not be sufficient time to inform you by letter, as the distance is a trifle farther and longer, than from London or Dublin. At which they seemed to be a little surprised. Cardinal Manning is expected. If Your Eminence could

come, I am certain you would confer a favor not only on the Holy Father and the Cardinal Secretary of State, but also on many other dignitaries of the Vatican. . . . The Holy Father is still in good health, but the years are telling on him, though he feels better at present than last summer. His Holiness and Cardinal Franchi have been very much pleased to hear of the interest Your Eminence has taken in the affairs of the College. . . . Thanking Your Eminence for the interest you have taken in the College,

I am, with great respect,

Your humble servant in Christ,

L. E. Hostlot

The journey was postponed that year on account of the alarming news of the Pope's health. Pius IX was then in his eighty-sixth year, and for some months during the year 1877, he was unable to walk on account of rheumatism. The Pope's health excited great anxiety for the welfare of the Church in every part of the world. Pius IX died on February 7, 1878, and Cardinal McCloskey set out for Rome to assist at the Conclave. He arrived too late; Leo XIII was elected on February 20th, but he assisted at the great Pontiff's coronation. His letter to Monsignor Preston announced that the Holy Father would confer the red hat in March:

Rome, *March* 8, 1878

Very Rev. dear Father Preston:

I had hoped to be able to write sooner after my arrival here but between the fatigue consequent upon my long and rapid journeying and constant occupation since I have been in Rome, my wishes and intentions

have been unfulfilled till now. Father Farley has, meantime kept you posted as to our movements and other matters of interest. Yesterday I had another audience of the Holy Father in which he was pleased to make many enquiries concerning the affairs of our diocese and to express himself much satisfied with the information given him. His Holiness has graciously promised to confer upon me the Cardinal's hat at the first Consistory to be held since his coronation, which will be about the 20th inst. Not sooner — it may be later. I shall then be free to begin my journey homeward. I am very anxious to reach home for Easter, yet I fear it will hardly be possible. There are several little matters to be settled before I can leave here. . . . Whatever may betide, the Church has in the person of Leo XIII a Pontiff who, strengthened by God's blessing, will prove himself equal to all the duties and responsibilities of his sublime office. Doubtless you have all the news of passing events as early in New York as we have it here. . . . Kindest remembrances to all. Pray for me and believe me as ever,

Very truly your friend and servant in Xt.,

✠ JOHN CARD. McCLOSKEY
Abp. of New York

It is of this visit to Rome that John Russell Young in his *Around the World with General Grant*, writes:

"Our visit to Rome had been fairly well timed, for though the period between the death of Pius IX, and his successor Leo XIII, had been but short, the excitement over the election of a new pontiff had quite subsided.

"Our time of arrival was indeed in some respects most fortunate, as the presence of his Eminence, Cardinal McCloskey, would give us certain facilities in the Holy City which perhaps would not have been otherwise possible. As the representative prelate of the Catholics in the United States, His Reverence, Cardinal McCloskey immediately called on General Grant, and under the auspices of the Cardinal and Monseigneur Chatard, rector of the American College of the United States in Rome, the ex-President was received by his Holiness Leo XIII. The interview was of a most agreeable character, and left a very pleasant impression on the General. Of course this reception highly flattering as it was to the distinguished head of our party, was not to be considered as partaking of a religious character. It was simply a visit of respectful courtesy of Americans to the highest dignitary of the Catholic Church. The manners and habits of Leo XIII, are of the simplest character, free from all pomp and parade, and those who had the honor to be present at the interview were struck by the quiet ease, dignity and impressiveness of His Holiness."

The Cardinal returned to New York in April, 1878, and in his first sermon in the Cathedral spoke feelingly of the Holy Father:

"If it is to you a pleasure to be able to present to me as you now do your joyful congratulations on my safe return home, be well assured that it is to me not alone in equal but in tenfold greater measure a happiness and delight to find myself once more in the midst

of my beloved clergy and people, to look upon the faces of so many of them here before me, to hear from the lips of their chosen representatives so many words of kindness, so many eloquent and noble expressions of Catholic faith and loyalty, still more to be permitted to unite with you all here before these holy altars in offering our fervent tribute of gratitude to the Giver of all good gifts for his tender mercies and for the many favors and blessings bestowed upon me. Besides the acknowledgment of our common debt of gratitude to Him, permit me to acknowledge my personal debt of gratitude to you for this touching manifestation of your filial attachment and respect. It is to me a renewed source of strength and consolation, and will serve, I trust, as an additional incentive to brotherly love.

"But do not suppose that I for a moment deceive myself as to the true significance of the words which have been spoken or of the scene now witnessed within these sacred precincts. Whatever of honor is shown to me in consideration of my office to guard you as your archbishop, or of the dignity with which, notwithstanding my small deserts, I am invested as Cardinal, is only secondary to the honor which you wish to show to the new Pope Leo XIII, from whose presence I have just now returned and whose apostolic benediction I bring to you from him, now gloriously reigning and whose life now becomes so precious to the whole Church. May God in his infinite goodness long protect and preserve him."

A characteristic act of the Cardinal occurred in connection with General Sherman, who had written

to him regarding his son. Young Mr. Sherman called on the Cardinal at Mt. St. Vincent and presented the letter, the substance of which was an appeal to the Cardinal to dissuade the young man from his purpose in becoming a Priest. This of course His Eminence could scarcely do, after hearing the young man's story. Later Mr. Sherman was admitted to the Society of Jesus, and General Sherman in an interview with the reporter of a St. Louis paper, stated that the Cardinal had robbed him of his son, mentioning the letter he had written. The editor of the paper telegraphed the Cardinal, asking for an answer. The Cardinal directed his secretary to reply that "General Sherman's letter to me was marked 'Private and confidential.'"

The great event of the year 1879, and the greatest in the Cardinal's lifetime, was the dedication of the most beautiful Gothic cathedral in the United States. St. Patrick's Cathedral was formally opened and blessed on the Feast of St. Gregory, May 25, 1879. "The newspapers of the day hailed the new Cathedral as one of the noblest temples ever raised in any land to the memory of St. Patrick, and as the glory of Catholic America." On January 3, Cardinal McCloskey invited Archbishop Ryan, then Coadjutor Bishop of St. Louis, to preach the sermon. Archbishop Ryan's reply was as follows:

ST. LOUIS, *January* 8, 1879

Most Eminent and Most Rev. Lord:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of Your Eminence's esteemed letter of the 3rd. inst., in which you do me

the great honor of inviting me to preach the sermon on the occasion of the Dedication of your great Cathedral.

As I cannot find in my heart humility enough to decline this unexpected honor, I shall be at Your Eminence's service on any Sunday in May, which may be determined on. I only request that Your Reverend Secretary will inform me of the day as soon as convenient, so that I may so order my Confirmation appointments for May, as to give me time sufficient for my visit to your city.

With sincere esteem and friendship, I have the honor to remain,

Your Eminence's faithful son and servant in Christ,

✠P. J. Ryan

Archbishop Ryan was then recognized as America's greatest preacher and certainly one of its greatest orators:

"Joy holy and exultant," he said, "fills our hearts today as we go into this glorious house of the Lord. This joy is universal. You, Most Eminent Cardinal Archbishop, rejoice, because you behold this your great work accomplished, crowned by the magnificent ceremony of this morning . . . And you, Most Reverend, Right Reverend, and Reverend brothers of the episcopacy and the clergy, rejoice, for you behold in the magnitude and majesty of this temple the evidence that the spirit of the ages of faith still lives on — that the spirit that planned and erected the vast Cathedrals of the Old World survives in the men of this New World, and that here are found

heads to conceive, the hands to execute, and hearts to love the glorious monuments that shall be erected — that in the utilitarian nineteenth century, Catholic faith retains all its fidelity and all its beauty. The men of this age have said to us that we could possess no more Cathedrals like those of past ages, because the faith that built them was dying or dead. Behold the splendid refutation of this charge!

"And also, you, my dear brethren of the laity, I well know what a flood of joy and gratitude to God inundates your hearts today, as you behold this offspring of your piety and generosity consecrated to your good God! You, the rich Catholics of this metropolis, have nobly done what was at once your duty and your highest pleasure in giving openly of your means to erect this temple, and you are justly proud of it. And what shall I say to you — the children of toil — who have given so generously and so constantly of your scanty means, at the call of your devoted pastor? I know and feel how happy you are this morning under this roof of your Father's house. I know how you glory in what has been said, as if in reproach, that the great Cathedral of New York was built chiefly by the pennies of the poor. The pennies of the poor! The most sacred offering to Him whose first temple on earth, the first spot where His Body and Blood, soul and divinity were tabernacles, was the stable of Bethlehem. . . . It is appropriate that the poor whom He so honored should aid to build His house, which is also their house and home. We accept, then, the imagined reproach as an honor, and we ask in turn: where in this great city have the thousands of bond-

holders erected a temple like this temple, built up and adorned by the 'pennies of the poor?'

"Fearless and alone, it stands above all churches here, as the faith which inspired its erection is superior to all creeds. It shows what poverty with faith can do, and that the Church has the mark of Christ upon it. 'The poor you have always with you.' I am satisfied, too, beloved brethren, that the liberal non-Catholics of New York rejoice in the consummation of this great work. They behold the greatest church edifice of the New World, the ornament of their city, the temple of religious art, and the powerful means of preserving morality amongst those who shall worship within its walls."

The preacher then paid a glowing tribute to the steadfastness of the faith of the Irish people. "To-day," he concluded, "the eyes and hearts of that devoted race in every part of the world are turned to this scene. Here they behold the greatest temple of the New World dedicated to God under the invocation of their national saint, and forever more it shall be known as St. Patrick's Cathedral of New York."

The Cathedral is an immortal monument to the architectural skill of James Fenwick, who designed it, and who watched over its construction from 1859 until its dedication on May 25, 1879. I have already told the story of his unflagging devotion to the Archdiocese of New York in the building of the Cathedral in my *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral* (1908).

In March 1880, Cardinal McCloskey called a meeting of his suffragans — the Bishops of Albany, Buffalo,

ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL

New York

Brooklyn, Newark, Rochester, and Ogdensburg, for the very important question of selecting a Coadjutor to the See of New York. Bishop Wadhams of Ogdensburg wrote to the Cardinal on March 31, 1880, saying that he was delighted with the idea because it would give the Cardinal the rest he required. "For a Coadjutor to the See of New York, with right of Succession, my earnest desire is that it may be the Bishop of Newark. I will name some among many reasons, 1. his amiability, character, and priestly dignity; 2. because of places where he received his education — Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, and the American College, Rome, — and the traditions that would likely be perpetuated by this appointment; 3. on account of his education; and, lastly, on account of his entire devotion to his work and his piety. You know him better than I do, but this is as I see the man for the metropolitan and cardinalatial See of New York, and for the position it holds in the Church. He is just now rather young, but he will be all the better qualified to govern; and old enough, before his time comes, to relieve you of all weight of office and Government over the clergy and people."

The growth of the diocese and the increasing infirmities of age called for the aid of an assistant, and on October 1, 1880, Bishop Corrigan of Newark, was named Coadjutor of New York with the right of succession and given the title of Archbishop of Petra. Michael Augustin Corrigan was born August 13, 1839, at Newark, N. J., and like the Cardinal, was a graduate of Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg. He was ordained to the priesthood in Rome, September 19, 1863,

and became Bishop of Newark in 1873. After seven years in Newark he was transferred to New York, and from that time on till Cardinal McCloskey's death, he bore the heavier part of the burden of the diocese.

"The summing up of the Cardinal's career," says John Talbot Smith, in his *History of The Catholic Church in New York*, "may be said to have taken place with the holding of the Fourth Provincial Council in 1883, when he assembled the Bishops of New York and New Jersey and formulated the laws which were to govern the ecclesiastical province, now reduced in size by the withdrawal of New England into the Province of Boston. The Bishops of Albany, Brooklyn, Newark, Buffalo, Ogdensburg, Rochester, Trenton, and Curium attended, and united in a pastoral letter to their respective flocks, whose separate articles fairly represent the aims and ideas which had dominated the life of the Cardinal. The letter began by thanking God for the wonderful growth of the Church in America, and the people for their generous aid in maintaining the works of religion; the disappearance of the old prejudices against Catholics was a source of joy to all; the Republic deserved praise and congratulation for the freedom which it secured to all citizens; nevertheless the increase of infidelity had become so marked, and its errors were so openly advocated, that the Fathers of the Council found it necessary to warn the people of their danger, and to advise the best methods to ward off threatening consequences. On the subject of marriage the people were reminded that no power on earth can dissolve the bond, and were urged to marry only with Catholics, to prepare thoughtfully

for the sacrament, and after receiving the sacraments to be married with a nuptial mass. In the work of Christian education, they were warned that the Church cannot accept a training for the children which deliberately excludes religion, and they were strongly urged to build schools of the proper character, and to take a careful and conscientious part in the education of the children. They were warned against the dangers of a licentious press, and instructed in the usefulness of a religious and God-fearing press, being recommended to support Catholic journals and magazines and to establish libraries. The nature of secret societies was explained at length, and connection with them forbidden. The temperance movement was highly commended, also the common parochial organizations of piety and charity; extravagance in funerals, and such excesses as Sunday picnics and moonlight excursions for charity, were condemned. Congregational singing was urged upon the people. The whole document breathed a spirit of authority and dignity and sweetness. Its protest against the increasing indifference to religion, and against a sneering materialism startled Christian society. Its defence of the ancient and revered doctrines, at the moment when denunciation of them had become common, reminded the anti-Christian party that faith in Christ was not an outworn institution, but had still its able defenders and millions of believers."

It was on the occasion of the receipt of the Acts and Decrees of this important Synod that Pope Leo XIII sent the following letter to Cardinal McCloskey:

To Our Beloved Son, John McCloskey, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, of the Title of Sancta Maria Supra Minervam, Archbishop of New York.

Beloved Son, Health and Apostolic Benediction:

It was a source of very great joy to us to receive a copy of the fourth Diocesan Synod of New York, held by you in your metropolitan church in November last, containing also the statutes of the preceding synods. We rejoice exceedingly, beloved son, to see that you have labored so successfully in the discharge of that duty of the pastoral work which the Holy Council of Trent has so earnestly recommended to the attention of all the Bishops, and we are filled with the firm trust that your zeal and that of those who labor with you for the spread of Catholic faith and worship, for the preservation of ecclesiastical discipline amongst clergy and laity, and for the salvation of souls, will be blessed with richest fruits throughout your diocese. But this is only one of the evidences of your sacerdotal zeal and pastoral vigilance. Your life is filled with shining examples and we cannot permit this opportunity to pass without bestowing on some of them the well-merited testimony of our appreciation and our love. We are aware, beloved son, with what care you study to imbue the youth of your diocese, especially those destined for the service of the altar, with the sound teaching of the Angelic Doctor, drawn from the fountain head, after the method recommended by us. We know with what unceasing fidelity you, together with your clergy and faithful, have always striven to aid the Apostolic See in the

painful extremities into which it has been forced by the evil times and the malice of men. Whereupon, we have longed to express to you our deep sense of gratitude and affection, and through you to make known our gratitude and love to all those devoted children of the Church who, bound to us by the bonds of filial piety, fail not, particularly in these days of trial, to second our wishes and to give evidence of their loyalty to this Apostolic Chair. Whilst, therefore, we offer up fervent prayers that the faithful of your illustrious diocese may learn to love God daily more and more and that under your episcopal care and guidance their merits may increase with their numbers, we at the same time beg of God from our heart that he may bestow upon you an abundant increase of his grace and strengthen with power from on high your co-laborers and people, and graciously grant to all who sow in blessings that of blessings also they may reap. May our apostolic benediction, which we most affectionately in the Lord impart to you, beloved son, and to all the clergy and faithful over whom you are placed, be a pledge of divine grace, as it is a token of our especial favor.

Given at St. Peter's, Rome, the fifth day of April, 1883, in the sixth year of our Pontificate.

Leo XIII

The last notable public occasion in which the Cardinal took part was the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of his ordination to the priesthood, held in New York on January 12, 1884. All during the previous year this happy event had been discussed by the bishops

of the province and the priests of his diocese, and several times it was feared that he would not live to see this anniversary. Bishop McQuaid wrote to Archbishop Corrigan, on May 23, 1883, asking him to keep him advised of the Cardinal's condition. "It seems to me," he writes, "that his end is approaching. He has only been kept alive by great caution on his part, and great care on the part of his attendants. When these fail he will go quickly. It would have given every one great pleasure to have had him preside at our Council, making this the crowning act of a long and glorious career." A meeting of the clergy was convened for December 20, at which the Vicar-General Monsignor Quinn presided, and a substantial testimonial was voted to be presented to His Eminence on January 12, 1884, on which day a solemn Pontifical Mass was to be celebrated. The Holy Father sent a letter of congratulation and a precious chalice. On the day itself, Bishop Loughlin, of Brooklyn, read the following address from the Bishops of the Province:

"At the close of the late Provincial Council we had the honor of addressing some words of respect and admiration to Your Eminence. We then expressed our hope that we might have the great pleasure and privilege of offering to you our cordial congratulations on the festival of your Golden Jubilee. Our hopes and expectations are now realized; we are enabled to participate in the joy which pervades the whole Catholic community on this festive day — the anniversary of your promotion to the high and holy dignity of the Priesthood in the Church of God.

"The Apostle has written that 'We are made a spectacle to the world and to angels and to men,' and the same apostle has said that we should 'Take heed to ourselves and to the whole flock over which the Holy Ghost hath placed us bishops to rule the Church of God.' And again: 'Let a man so look upon us as ministers of Christ and the dispensers of the mysteries of God.'

"Now, most eminent prelate, we are here to express our conviction that Your Eminence has been 'A spectacle to the world and to angels and to men,' and that you have borne this in mind from the day of your ordination till the present day, and that you have exhibited yourself as a 'minister of Christ' — that you have 'presented yourself unto God — a workman that needeth not to be ashamed' — and on this conviction is based our congratulations chiefly, and not merely on the length of time during which by the disposition of an All-wise Providence, you have exercised the holy ministry of His Church.

"While we consider these things in your life, we feel it incumbent upon us to praise and bless Almighty God for having permitted us to be witnesses of your life amongst us and before us, that we might be edified, encouraged and confirmed in the discharge of our duties.

"While we will not be called upon to celebrate your centennial jubilee, we are assured that your name and the record of your prudence and zeal for God's honor and glory and the salvation of souls, will even then not be forgotten. *In memoria aeterna erit justus.*"

This was followed by an address from the priests of the archdiocese, read by Monsignor Quinn:

"The clergy both secular and religious of the Archdiocese of New York, beg leave humbly to approach Your Eminence, and to avail themselves of this opportunity of the celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of your ordination to the Holy Priesthood, to offer to you, their Cardinal Archbishop, the full expression of their sincere and hearty congratulations.

"It is not a common event for a priest or prelate to celebrate his Golden Jubilee; and few have been the instances in all these long years of the Church's history when the sacerdotal life has been filled out, like yours, through half a century.

"It can be but a matter of consolation for Your Eminence to recall the great and singular progress of the Holy Church which, during this period, your eyes have witnessed in this country. No more remarkable and rapid extension of the Holy Faith has been recorded in any region of the world since the apostolic age. Your Eminence has especially witnessed the growth of two most important dioceses — Albany and New York. You recognized the first by giving to it its grand cathedral — its churches — asylums — schools and other ecclesiastical institutions. The latter is also indebted to Your Eminence's prudent and persevering guidance for its magnificent Cathedral, its Catholic protectory, its academies and schools of learning, its numerous religious houses, and its wonderful increase in churches. Fifty years ago there were in this city but six churches; now there are sixty.

There were but twenty priests in the diocese; now there are three hundred and eighty. At that time there were in the whole United States only nine bishops; now there are fifty-nine. Then there was but one archbishop; now there are twelve, one of whom has been elevated to the august senate of the universal Church. Your Eminence sees more Catholics under your episcopal care within our City limits alone, than there were at the date of your ordination to the priesthood, in the entire Republic. There is perhaps no City in the whole world more Catholic, when measured by the standard of the number of its Easter communions, than the metropolis over which you preside as Archbishop. To you, therefore, whom God has allowed to behold and to bear part in this astonishing progress, such a sight, we repeat, must be most consoling; knowing that great as has been the number of those who have come to the United States as professed Catholics, the true greatness, as well as growth of the Church in America, as everywhere else, is due, above all, to the inherent force of divine faith — to the profound convictions which that faith produces in the souls of men, and to the steadfast and affectionate attachment which it alone inspires. Together with all this it must be a matter of personal congratulation in which Your Eminence cannot fail to be a partner with us, to know that your elevation to the episcopal, and archiepiscopal dignity, and to the higher rank of the Cardinalate, was due, not to courtly influence or to political favor, but to the free choice of the Supreme Pastor of God's Holy Church in the sole view of your fitness and merits. Your advancement to this last

position of honor, so highly and so deservedly esteemed throughout the world, found an universal response of unfeigned satisfaction, not only among Catholics, but indeed among all the citizens of the United States. To the growth of God's Church in this free western land your labors have largely contributed; and may we not piously hope that in the providence of God you are destined to crown your services in the past by others still more signal? Your wisdom and prudence presided over the recent Provincial Council in this City, than which no more important one has been held in America. May that same wisdom and prudence, under God, guide the deliberations of the forthcoming Plenary Council. In Your Eminence both clergy and people have ever found a true and good pastor, whose mild but firm guidance, whose meekness in the exercise of authority recall to their minds the words of our blessed Saviour, 'He that is greatest among you shall be your servant.' All alike we feel that it is good for us to live under the pastoral staff of such a shepherd. Therefore, this is a day of thronging memories and sincere congratulations, and of great joy to us all. Our united hearts, full of thanksgiving to God for the uncounted blessings of the past, and animated with most confident hope for the future, are deeply moved with mingled emotions of joy, affection and gratitude which, amid the public evidences of manifest rejoicing, struggle for adequate utterance on this auspicious occasion, in your venerable presence, and in the hearing of the whole world. May God's mercy spare you yet many years to His Church and His People. This is our heartfelt prayer. May

you be spared also to see the beginning, at least, of that triumph foreseen by the late Supreme Pontiff Pius IX., of holy memory, and so earnestly sought by His Holiness Leo XIII., now happily reigning — the triumph of the Holy Church of the Son of God over the whole earth. *Ad Multos Annos.*"

The address of the laity, read by the Hon. John E. Devlin, was, if possible, even more enthusiastic:

"Fifty years, Your Eminence, of sacerdotal life! of devotion to the highest and holiest interests and aspirations of your fellow men! fifty years of labor, of self-denial, of self-sacrifice, of ministrations by day and of calls and visits by night, amidst dangers, pestilence, heats of summer and storms of winter, with increasing responsibilities and trying cares as bishop and archbishop, half a hundred years today completed, a priest of the Holy Roman Catholic Church — this is truly a crowning Anniversary — a Golden Jubilee! The Coadjutor Archbishop, fresh from the inspiring presence of the Holy Father, hastening through the Continent and over wintry seas, that he might not miss this auspicious occasion. Prelates from all the land — the large assemblage of surpliced priests and the laity in crowded mass, filling this sacred and spacious edifice, brought to its present state of completeness by the unceasing efforts and untiring energy of Your Eminence, all meet and are gathered here today, prelates, priests and laymen, unite in offering up praise and thanksgiving for the long period vouchsafed you in the ministry, to pray for its extension during many years to come — to

manifest their gratitude for your labors in their behalf and for your friendship, and to attest their affection for Your Eminence. Fifty years ago, then the city, which is now third in magnitude, was the rising village, set upon a hill, in which Your Eminence first breathed the vital air, while her greater and elder sister, lying side by side on either shore of the river, was proud and boastful of a population of two hundred and fifty thousand souls. Today the two just now united by hooks and cables of steel, dominate the Nation in wealth and influence, and in population outnumber all the great cities of our country lying on the two oceans, on the mighty river and the gulf combined! What development, what growth, what expansion, since the day Your Eminence entered upon the sacred duties of the priesthood! Side by side with this unexampled advance have increased also the cause and the membership of the Catholic community. When a priest first visited this Island of New York — even then a busy mart — the number of the laity was only two. Fifty years ago the churches were less than seven — the clergy were few and there was one benevolent institution — colleges were not — and Catholic schools well-nigh unknown. Now churches and chapels are counted by scores, priests by the hundred and the laity by hundreds of thousands. Institutions of benevolence have arisen throughout the city, seats of learning of the first order and schools of every degree without number. Thus, the development of all that could confer power and influence and efficiency, that could minister to spiritual wants and needs, that could afford solace and relief to the suffer-

ing and the necessitous, that could enlarge and cultivate the intellect, has more than kept pace with the material growth of the metropolis. Recognizing these impressive facts, Pope Pius the Ninth of blessed memory, placed the church here on a plane with the Catholic hierarchy of the most favored parts of Christendom, and accorded it a representation in the Sacred College. The selection of Your Eminence for this exalted honor was but a fitting tribute to your life-long devotion to the interests of the church, and filled with joy every Catholic heart. For these accumulated blessings of churches, clergy, charities, colleges and other institutions of learning and education all for their good, the laity feel themselves in the first and highest degree indebted to two illustrious chieftains of the church, your immediate predecessor, the first Archbishop of New York, and Your Eminence. How thoroughly, how profoundly and how vividly they appreciate this fact, is attested by their generous response to every appeal, by their pious remembrance of the deceased prelate, manifested on each recurring occasion, and by their tender and affectionate regard for yourself. In commemoration of this joyful event in gratitude to Almighty God, that you have been spared to us and that we have lived to meet you on this auspicious day, and on behalf of the laity, whom I have been selected here to represent, I tender Your Eminence their warmest congratulations, and, bowing down in profound reverence, I lay at your feet this tribute of their homage and assurance of their loyal attachment and devotion to your person."

The response of the Cardinal to the addresses presented shows the same felicitous touch which he possessed from the beginning of his priesthood:

"*Venerable Bishops, Beloved Brethren of the Clergy, devoted Children of the Laity.* I confess I find words inadequate to express my sense of gratitude for the kind and generous remarks presented in your various addresses, and the many facts in my career you have been pleased to mention. These congratulations which come to me from the bishops of this province, most of whom it was my happiness to consecrate; from the priests of this diocese, most of whom were promoted by myself to holy orders, and whose zeal and labors have effected so much for religion; from devoted laborers in the great work of Christian education, and from the generous and faithful Laity, fill my heart with joy on this the fiftieth anniversary of my ordination. On this occasion I cannot but contrast the scene of today with that which occurred fifty years ago in the old St. Patrick's Cathedral. There were only one bishop and two priests in the sanctuary, and not many people in the church. That bishop was Bishop Dubois who consecrated my hands with the sacerdotal unction, and the two priests, one his vicar-general, Very Rev. Dr. Power, and the other the Rev. Dr. Pise; and today, the fiftieth anniversary of that event, I behold this sanctuary filled with the bishops of my province, and the faithful clergy of my diocese, and this great Cathedral whose foundations were laid by my illustrious predecessor, crowned to overflowing with my devoted people. For all this I

have only to thank God, who has spared me in His goodness, to witness the glory of this day and the wonderful fruits of the mustard seed. At the time of my ordination few thought that I, so feeble in health would outlive all those who were my contemporaries in the ministry. And when, shortly after, I went to Europe for the advantage of additional study, my friends supposed I would not return. Providence spared me beyond my expectations. In regard to the dignities conferred on me personally, to which you so kindly allude, I can safely say that not one of these honors was ever sought by me. The progress of the Church referred to in the addresses is true, and so true that it is clearly the work of God and not of man.

"What success may have attended my efforts must be attributed to the good will, zeal and generous coöperation of the clergy and laity; for by them have churches, convents, hospitals, and various charitable institutions increased in number and usefulness beyond my most sanguine hopes. The secret of this success may surely be found in the ready assistance rendered to me by the priests and people of the diocese. I am satisfied that the same generous support will always be extended to my Coadjutor.

"There is only one thing we desire — that you all stand together in unity — the priests reverencing the bishops, the laity loving and obeying the priests, and all, laity, priests and bishops continuing in communion with the august head of the church, the vicar of Christ. This is my prayer, and my hope, and my faith. May the Almighty God, whose mercies so abound amongst

us, bless you, the clergy, the laity and the faithful, and grant to all an increase of faith, hope and charity, of zeal and devotion in the cause of our holy religion."

The last years of Cardinal McCloskey's life were spent in one of the most intensely active periods of Catholic episcopal life in this country — the preparation for the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, which opened on November 7 and closed on December 9, 1884. In the eighteen years which had passed since the Second National Council (1866), a host of new problems had arisen, and among these were the method of nominating bishops to vacant Sees, the canonical visitation of the dioceses and the visits *ad limina;* clerical education, cathedral chapters and parish priests, the Indian and Negro Missions, the immigrants, parochial schools, and the temporal administration of Church property. To arrange the committees of bishops for the preparations of the decrees, and to plan the whole work thoroughly beforehand, were indeed difficult problems. In all these questions, the venerable and revered Cardinal Archbishop of New York was looked to as guide and counsellor. It was hoped that His Eminence would be able to preside in person at the opening session. The Holy See thought it best to call a number of the bishops to Rome in order to perfect the plans for the Council; and, accordingly, Archbishop Corrigan set out in October, 1883, for Rome. His weekly correspondence with the Cardinal shows how many and varied were the difficulties to be overcome before the sessions could be opened in Baltimore. These preparatory labors in

Rome lasted all through the months of November and December, and Archbishop Corrigan left Rome on December 17, 1883, sailing from Liverpool on the 25th, and arrived in New York early in January, 1884. Cardinal McCloskey was unable to be present at the sessions of the Council and was represented by Archbishop Corrigan.

The new year of 1885 saw him very weak in health and it was apparent to all that his days were numbered. He spent most of this time at Mt. St. Vincent's on the Hudson, where the Sisters of Charity gave him every attention.

It may surprise many to learn that it was only during the last ten years of his life that Cardinal McCloskey felt the need of a physician's care. The present writer was Secretary to His Eminence in 1875, after the Cardinal's return from Rome, and he noticed in him a feverish condition which necessitated a doctor. Accordingly he visited Dr. Keyes, who was then living near by, and asked him to call to see the Cardinal. Dr. Keyes found His Eminence suffering from a low fever, which lasted through the winter of 1875–76. The attack was brought on, Dr. Keyes distinctly remembers, by a cold caught at a celebration in Rome in the autumn of 1875. After his first visit, Dr. Keyes came regularly to see the Cardinal, but found no real malady except a very mild paralysis agitans, due to increasing old age. The Cardinal gradually weakened between 1880 and 1885, and died with his faculties unimpaired.

"From the time when he was invested with his highest dignity," wrote Father Hewitt several months

after his death, "the Cardinal was never well. Even before that he must have been sensible of failing strength and begun to grow weary. He was not one to complain of fatigue, but once, when he gave his pallium into my charge for a time, he expressed with a sigh the wish that he might lay it aside altogether, and uttered the exclamation *O beati voi!*

"During his last years he was compelled to retire more and more into that seclusion and quietude, for which he had longed. Unable during a long time even to read, though he continued to direct the administration of his diocese through his vicars-general, the greatest part of his time was passed in solitude, with no resource or occupation except prayer." Some two weeks before the death of the Cardinal, Father Fedigan, the Provincial of the Augustinians, called to visit him, having known His Eminence for many years. Father Fedigan said: "I hope your Eminence will soon be able to repeat your visit to Atlantic City, and that this second visit will do you twice as much good as the first." Lifting his eyes heavenward, the Cardinal replied in a feeble voice: "No, Father, I am going on a longer journey. God has been good to me all my life, and I hope He will be good enough now to take me home." Two weeks later he was dead.

He died on October 10, 1885, aged seventy-five years. "I was struck," said one of the priests who stood at his bedside, "at the change produced by death in the face of the Cardinal. Five minutes after death his face, which, previously to his demise was wan and drawn by pain, became smooth and had lost twenty

years of the age written on it before. He looked just as his portrait painted twenty years before looked. I had noticed the same thing in the dead face of Archbishop Bayley. He reminded me forcibly of the familiar portraits of his aunt, Mother Seton." Tennyson apropos of this same change writes:

As sometimes in a dead man's face
To those that watch it more and more,
A likeness, hardly seen before,
Comes out, to some one of his race.

It was little more than a year before that Cardinal McCloskey had stood surrounded by his suffragans and priests, the recipient of their good wishes and encomiums on the occasion of his Golden Jubliee. New York — Protestant and Catholic — had rejoiced in that ceremony and now its citizenship, without respect of party or creed, was to pay its final respects to the dead Cardinal. For two days his body lay in state in the great Cathedral he had finished, and at least one hundred and fifty thousand people passed before it to see the dead prelate. The day of the funeral called forth an unprecendented crowd. The Cardinal's death brought sorrow to the Church universal as well as to the Catholics of America and New York. As Cardinal Gibbons so well expressed it in his Funeral Oration on October 25, 1885, at St. Patrick's Cathedral: "It has filled with grief the great heart of the Sovereign Pontiff and the College of Cardinals, of which he was an illustrious member and a distinguished ornament. It has fallen heavily upon you, venerable brethren of the clergy. You justly recognized in your Cardinal-Arch-

bishop a kind father, a devoted friend, a watchful shepherd, a fearless leader, and, above all, an impartial judge. His death has stricken with sorrow you, also, brethren of the laity, and the sadness depicted on your countenances is the expression of the grief which fills your hearts. Nor is this grief confined to those who are of the household of the Faith. It extends to all classes and creeds of the community. The great heart of New York has mourned him, as well becomes the Empire City, lamenting the death of one of its most illustrious and honored citizens. Neither wealth, nor power, nor rank, could command such heartfelt and universal respect as has been paid spontaneously to the remains of your revered prelate. He had won the hearts of the people." Under the high altar of the Cathedral, which he completed, his remains rest in eternal repose beside those of his illustrious predecessor who had projected this magnificent temple of Gothic art. The simple inscription on the door of the vault reads: "John Cardinal McCloskey, died October 10, 1885." His cardinalitial hat hung high above the sanctuary which he so well adorned, reminds the prayerful worshipper in the Cathedral of a glory that has departed forever.

CHAPTER IX

CHARACTERISTICS OF CARDINAL MCCLOSKEY

IT was said at the time of Cardinal McCloskey's death that "the recording angel has in the Book of Life, the only full biography of the deceased Prince of the Church. And when that book is opened, and not till then, will mankind know the great services which he rendered to the United States and to the Church of which he was such a distinguished ornament."

With Cardinal McCloskey such undoubtedly must always remain the case. There are no stirring epochs in his life as in that of his predecessor, Archbishop Hughes and, to a certain extent, in that of his successor, Archbishop Corrigan. He was preëminently an ecclesiastic. All his life long, as Father Hewitt, his friend, has described him, "his interior occupation had been more spiritual than intellectual and had not been distracted or disturbed by incessant outward activity."

From more than one standpoint, it is impossible to sum up within a few pages the chief characteristics of such a life as his. His public life as a prelate, as a Prince of the Catholic Church and as the chief citizen of the great metropolis, over whose Catholic hearts he was placed to rule, is known too well to need a fuller description. That public life has been portrayed in the letters and other documents contained in this biographical sketch. But all through these pages we cannot help but be conscious that much that is essential

to the story of this rare figure must be left untold. Out of the heaps of material in our possession, we have been able to use only the minor part. And yet, to those who fail to catch the underlying principle upon which his life was based, his public career might seem almost devoid of extraordinary interest.

That underlying principle was humility.

His modesty of speech, his benignity of manner, his great personal simplicity of heart, may not be to the eyes of the world the outward dress of a fearless and uncompromising disciplinarian or of a strong masterly personality in affairs of Church and State. His dislike for public display and his careful avoidance of everything that might bring him before the public gaze, are probably the most salient aspects of his character.

Among the many humorous incidents of his life familiar to the older clergy of the present generation, is one which shows his calmness under provoking circumstances. Father McFarland, the pastor at Utica, was disliked by a faction among his parishioners, and they despatched a delegation down to Albany to see Bishop McCloskey in order to have him removed. The Bishop heard them very patiently, and when they had lodged their complaint to their entire satisfaction, he replied: "Gentlemen, your petition shall be granted very shortly. I have just received from Rome the bull appointing your pastor Bishop of Hartford." It is needless to say that the delegation was thunderstruck; but they showed the proper spirit by returning to Utica with the glad news and by taking an active part in the public reception given to Bishop McFarland.

The Cardinal was always noted for his coolness and self-possession under every circumstance. The following instance is an evidence of this. When he was Bishop of Albany, he was driving with one of the pastors on some business, when the horse became frightened and unmanageable. The pastor jumped from the carriage, but the bishop seized the reins, and kept the horse in the road until he came to a turn where he was able to swing him into an embankment, he himself jumping from the carriage and seizing the animal before he could rise to continue his flight.

Again while journeying in a train to Albany, at the Tarrytown station the conductor warned the passengers of an impending collision. The bishop succeeded in reaching the platform of the car and had almost alighted in safety, when the crash came and his foot was caught, with the result that his ankle was crushed and he was dragged some distance before getting clear. He was taken to the rectory at Tarrytown and cared for. A gentleman seated in front of him in the train, who received the same warning, did not even get out of his seat, but was thrown against the next seat and killed.

His utter fearlessness in the presence of danger to the institutions of the Church cannot be better described than in his attitude towards the Church Property Bill of New York, and again towards the Italian government in 1884, when it was a question of the confiscation of the American College at Rome. The Cardinal's letter to President Arthur on March 3, 1884, and his stirring Pastoral on the subject gave courage to all parties concerned and saved the college from ruin.

Cardinal Gibbons relates an episode in Cardinal McCloskey's life which caused considerable talk at the time. "In the early seventies," says His Eminence, "when I was Vicar Apostolic of North Carolina, residing in Wilmington, North Carolina, I received one day a letter addressed *To any Catholic Priest in Wilmington.* This letter was from a Doctor Monk of Newton Grove, North Carolina, who made inquiries in regard to Catholic belief. This letter lead to some correspondence between us and I sent him a number of Catholic books. Doctor Monk wrote to me that he would be in Wilmington on a certain day with his family to receive the grace of Baptism, if I found him worthy. The result was that I baptized him and his whole family. After the baptism I asked him what had convinced him of the true faith, and he replied that he had never before seen a Catholic priest, that no Catholic lived in his country and that he had never been in a Catholic church, but by chance had come across an abstract of a sermon by Cardinal (then Archbishop) McCloskey in the *New York Herald* which gave him the first glimpse of light. Hence his letter to me. As a result of the conversion of Doctor Monk and family, three hundred people of that vicinity followed him into the Church, and now at Newton Grove there is a Church, Rectory and School."

The Cardinal was always a conspicuous figure in the Councils of the Church. As a young Bishop he assisted at the First Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1852; and at the Second, in 1866, he took a leading place both in the pulpit and in the council sessions. His was not the part of a debater so much as that of

a director. At the close of a discussion, in which he rarely took an active part, all looked to him for a clear summary of the arguments on both sides of the debate, and rarely did anyone differ from the conclusions he voiced. In the Vatican Council, where he was a member of the Committee on Church Discipline, he held a most important post. Pope Leo XIII often spoke of him as a prelate of princely bearing and of a saintly disposition.

Cardinal McCloskey was self-contained and reserved, and did little that would enable the general public to estimate the profound depth of his character. He was a man of affectionate nature, and loved many things with great tenderness.

His devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, to the Blessed Virgin, and to the Holy Souls, was enhanced by a filial affection for the Holy See, which shines out with a brilliancy all its own in every period of his life. It would be easy to multiply evidences of this from his letters and papers, but one will suffice — his letter to Pope Pius IX, on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of his Pontificate (1871):

Most Holy Father:

Many trials and sorrows have pressed on your paternal heart during the course of a long Pontificate, which may be truly said to have been rendered glorious no less by the sufferings that you have heroically endured than by the triumphs that you have achieved for God's Holy Church. And now again fresh troubles have come upon you, new perils encompass you. The work of iniquity long since begun by perverse and

wicked men who, conspiring against the Lord and against His Christ, have labored incessantly and by every unlawful means to effect the overthrow of your temporal power, has, for a time at least, been consummated; and we behold you no longer as before, a sovereign free and independent, but a prisoner in your own capital. This spectacle has shocked the hearts of your faithful children throughout the world, and fills them even now with grief and indignation.

We, Most Holy Father, who are not alone your children but bishops also of the Church, called to have a share in your solicitude, can not be unmindful, at such a moment, of our high office nor of the ties which bind us to you and to your Apostolic See. Moved therefore, by sentiments of sincere fidelity, of warmest love and veneration, we come to offer at the feet of Your Holiness the expression of our heartfelt sympathies, and to raise our voice in most earnest and solemn protest against the unjust and sacrilegious acts whereby your venerable authority has been outraged, your rights and privileges violated, and that temporal sovereignty which belongs to you by titles higher, holier, and more just than those of any crowned head in Europe, wrested by fraud and violence from your hands.

In your august person we recognize the Vicar of our divine Lord on earth, the infallible teacher, the Supreme Pastor appointed to feed, to rule and govern the whole church of Christ. This spiritual supremacy you have derived not from man but from God and no power of man can take it from you.

In the civil sovereignty and temporal domain which

the faith and piety of Catholic ages bestowed on your predecessors and of which you are the rightful inheritor, we recognize a Providential dispensation, wisely ordained to protect and uphold in a befitting manner the sublime dignity of Head of the Church, and to secure for him that full measure of independence which is necessary for the free, secure and impartial exercise of his Apostolic office. This temporal sovereignty and domain were confided not for the exclusive benefit of any one country or people but to be held and administered as a sacred trust for the benefit and welfare of the universal church. So that all the Church's children may be justly said to have a right and an interest therein. To despoil Your Holiness, therefore, is to rob the Church, to violate the rights and offend the consciences of all Catholics throughout the world; it is besides, to deprive you of what in the order of God's Providence has served for more than a thousand years as an essential safeguard and indispensable guarantee of that unrestricted liberty which must belong to the Supreme Pastor whose spiritual jurisdiction extends over all Catholics, over princes and rulers, as well as over subjects and people.

Your cause, then, Most Holy Father, is our cause, the cause of the whole church, the cause of God. It is one, also, to which we are unwilling to believe that Christian governments can long remain indifferent, since it effects interests so dear and sacred to millions of their loyal subjects, since it involves principles which lie at the foundation of all civil sovereignty on the one hand and of true allegiance on the other; principles of national honor of public faith, of truth, and justice

among men. Of these great principles Your Holiness has ever stood forth before the world as the noble advocate and defender — and it is for this reason, because you have loved justice and hated iniquity that we admire and applaud your noble and dignified constancy, your unshaken reliance on divine aid and protection.

We cease not to pour forth our prayers, in common with our faithful clergy and people, to the Father of mercies and God of all consolation that He may bring joy out of sorrow, triumph out of humiliation; that He may speedily reestablish you in the possession of all your rights and privileges, and restore peace to the Church and to the world.

Imploring for ourselves and for all committed to our pastoral care Your Apostolic benediction,

We remain, Your Holiness'

devoted servants and children in Xt.

Of all the friends who surrounded Cardinal McCloskey during the last years of his life, none knew him more intimately than his successor, the late Archbishop Corrigan.

Hidden away in the files of the newspapers of the day is his eloquent panegyric at the month's mind memorial Mass for Cardinal McCloskey, on November 10, 1885. In his own strong way, Archbishop Corrigan thus pictures his saintly and beloved predecessor: "It was Cardinal McCloskey's privilege," he says, "to grow up with Catholicity in this diocese, and to be spared to witness, both in the Church and in the land of his birth, a progress and a development

unparalleled in history. It gives us some idea of this unpredecented growth, when, bearing in mind the present condition of the Church in this city, with its half a million of Catholics, we remember that he himself may be considered the first-fruits of the sanctuary; for he was the first native priest of this State of New York who, as a secular priest, devoted himself to the service of the altar. Promoted to the episcopal dignity, he poured the oil of unction on those who are today the oldest and most venerated ornaments of our priesthood. From his hands, nearly all the bishops of this province received episcopal consecration. No wonder, then, that the clergy learned to look up to him with the love and veneration due to a pioneer and a patriarch."

Cardinal McCloskey could indeed look back to a period in the ecclesiastical life of the See over which he presided so admirably, when there was but a handful of priests and people. But it was not mere length of days, nor the attainment of high honors — not even the sacred dignity of Prince of the Church, which drew the hearts of all towards him; but that which, as a magnet, drew honors themselves to him — his sweet and gentle life, and his exalted virtues. "It is not too much to say," continues Archbishop Corrigan "that if one virtue were more conspicuous than another in the career of the illustrious Cardinal, it was the virtue of prudence. His whole life might be quoted in illustration, and instances chosen at random from any part of it." Archbishop Corrigan then related the story of the beginning of the Cardinal's sacerdotal ministry and explained how thoroughly prudent the

young priest had been in his dealings with the trustees of St. Joseph's in 1837–38.

Another marked trait in the Cardinal's character — the result partly of his own native gentleness, partly of the abiding grace of humility — was his great consideration of others. It was this innate force which made Cardinal McCloskey a man amongst men, full of tact and persuasiveness, and overcoming difficulties so simply that no one ever felt offended. His judgment and consideration in using the immense power and influence placed at his disposal were remarked by all; one of his suffragans admitted that his pressure on the province had always been as light as the touch of a little finger.

So lived and so died John Cardinal McCloskey, first Prince of the Holy Roman Catholic Church in the United States, a loving father to his spiritual children, a faithful shepherd of the true Fold, and an example for the whole Christian world.

In the words of the beloved second American Prince of the Church, James Cardinal Gibbons, we may say: "Oh beloved Pontiff! may thy soul be this day in Paradise! We cherish thy memory; and even in the years to come, when thy life shall be viewed through the mellowing atmosphere of time, thy memory, like the memory of Josias, will be as the composition of a sweet odor made by the art of the perfumer; thy memory shall be sweet as honey in every mouth, and as delicious music at a banquet. They will speak of thee as the kind, and gentle, and fatherly Cardinal McCloskey!"

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

IN no section of the American Church can the historian trace a steadier growth of Catholicity than in New York State. When Richard Luke Concanen, the illustrious Prior of the Dominicans of San Clemente, Rome, was appointed first Bishop of New York in 1808, the number of Catholics in his whole diocese was hardly twenty thousand. These were mostly of Irish parentage, with a few Spaniards, a large number of Germans, and some Frenchmen. In 1821, the year John McCloskey entered Mount St. Mary's College, the Church in the "Bishopric of New York," — as we read in that rare little volume *The Laity's Directory to the Church Service*, had already given evidence of its future strength. The following statement which is copied from the *Laity's Directory* (1822) explains that growth in detail:

"BISHOPRIC OF NEW-YORK

"*Rt. Rev. Dr. John Connolly, Bishop*

"The bishopric of New-York, comprehends the whole state of New-York, together with the northern parts of Jersey. The residence of the Bishop is in New-York. This city contains two Catholic Churches, viz: the Cathedral (St. Patrick's) and St. Peter's. The Cathedral is a superb edifice, 120 feet long by 80 feet wide, finished in a superior manner in the inside, and is

capable of holding 6000 people. The exterior, as to the ornamental part, is yet unfinished. The style of the building is Gothic; and from its great extent and solidity, must have cost upwards of 90,000 dollars. No Church in the United States, (the Cathedral in Baltimore excepted) can compare with it.

"St. Peter's, which is the first Catholic Church erected in New-York, is a neat, convenient, and handsome building. It was erected about 20 years ago, at which time the number of Catholics did not exceed three hundred. At present they number upwards of twenty thousand. They are mostly natives of Ireland and France. There are in this city two extensive Catholic charity schools, conducted upon a judicious plan, and supported partly by the funds of the state, and partly by moneys raised twice a year by two congregations. Independently of these two establishments, the Emmitsburg sisters of charity have a branch here of their pious institution, exclusively for the benefit of female orphan children, whom they board, clothe and educate. Their house fronts the side of the Cathedral, and is in one of the most healthy situations in New-York.

"In Albany there is likewise a Catholic church — a neat and compact building. It was erected about 14 years ago, and is attended by a growing congregation. The clergyman officiating in this church, visits occasionally Troy, Lansingburgh, Johnstown, and Schenectady.

"In Utica, a large and beautiful church has lately been erected and consecrated, which reflects great honour on the Catholics residing there. Their number

is not great; neither are they generally wealthy — their zeal however, *for the house of God, and the place where his glory dwelleth*, has enabled them to surmount every obstacle to the exercise of their piety. From the multitude flocking annually to this flourishing village, no doubt can be entertained but this will shortly become one of the most numerous, and respectable congregations in the diocess. In Rome, (15 miles distant from Utica,) there is as yet no Catholic church, but a beautiful lot is reserved, by the liberality of Dominick Lynch, Esq., on which one will be erected, as soon as the number of Catholics settling there will render its erection necessary. The situation of this little town is healthy and beautiful.

"In Auburn, an agreeable little town, still farther distant in the state, there is likewise a Catholic church, recently erected.

"In New Jersey, in the town of Patterson, there is also one, which is regularly attended by a clergyman.

"In Carthage, near the Black River, a small and neat church has been lately erected.

"*The Following are the Catholic Clergymen Officiating in this Diocese*

NEW-YORK

RT. REV'D. DR. JOHN CONNOLLY
REV'D MICHAEL O'GORMAN } *St. Patrick's Cathedral*

REV'D. CHARLES FRENCH
REV'D. JOHN POWER } *St. Peter's*

REV'D. MR. BULGER, *Patterson*

REV'D. MICHAEL CARROLL, *Albany and vicinity*

Rev'd. John Farnan, *Utica and vicinity*

Rev'd. Patrick Kelly, *Auburn, Rochester, and other districts in the Western parts of this state*

Rev'd. Philip Larissy *attends regularly at Staten Island, and different other congregations along the Hudson River.*"

Another interesting series of statistics was furnished by the late Dr. Charles G. Herbermann in his sketch of the *Life of Bishop Dubois*. We set them down in chronological order:

1816.	Bishop Connolly's estimate (for New York City)	13,000
1816.	Bishop Hughes' estimate (for New York City), written in 1836 . .	16,000
1821.	Archbishop Maréchal's estimate (for New York Diocese)	50,000
1823.	Bishop Connolly's estimate (for New York City)	15,000
1827.	Shea's estimate (for New York Diocese)	150,000
1829.	Bishop Dubois' estimate (for New York City)	35,000
1829.	Bishop Dubois' estimate (for New York Diocese)	185,000
1833.	Bishop Dubois' estimate (for New York Diocese)	200,000

The *Catholic Almanac* for 1844, — the year John McCloskey became Coadjutor of New York, gives the following summary for the Diocese of New York:

Churches	90
Chapels	7
Missions	60
Clergymen	91
Seminary	1
Clerical Students	31
Colleges	1
Female Academies	3
Institutions under Sisters of Charity	11
Asylums for Orphans	6
Orphans supported	420
Catholic population, *over*	200,000

Twenty years later (1864), Archbishop McCloskey returned to New York as its ecclesiastical head, and the account printed in *Sadliers' Catholic Directory* of 1864–65, would indicate that the twenty years between 1844 and 1864 had not been a period of intensive growth on the part of the priests and people. The churches listed number about one hundred, and the institutions, twenty-two. There were twelve select schools and thirty-one free or parochial schools. The priests numbered about one hundred and twenty.

It is during the next twenty years (1864-1885), during which time Archbishop John McCloskey faced in New York State the same crisis which existed all over the States — the crisis of Reconstruction, that the most remarkable part of that growth is to be seen. As Rev. Dr. John Talbot Smith has written in his *History of the Catholic Church in New York (1808–1905)*: "The Civil War arrested all development in every department, and either threw things into confusion, or brought them

to a standstill." But the Civil War has proven a boon to Catholics in other ways. For Know-nothingism it meant extinction, the snuffing out of the lesser in the greater interest. For the Catholics it meant freedom from persecution, and the opportunity to convince the most obstinate of their obvious loyalty. The Civil War was coming to an end when John McCloskey began his rule as the second Archbishop of America's greatest civic centre, and he found the situation, while critical, changed to a great extent for the better. "The masterful career of Archbishop Hughes had welded into one harmonious body the scattered elements of power in the Catholic masses. Opposition had died out, a definite policy had become a custom, prestige had increased, and time had more than justified the methods of Dr. Hughes."

Archbishop McCloskey, therefore, saw the future of the Church with untroubled eyes. He used to say of himself that it was his good fortune to reap where others had sown; and the harvest he gathered during the twenty years of his archiepiscopate exceeded that of any of his predecessors. At his death in 1885, the Catholic population had increased to 600,000. There were over four hundred priests in his Diocese, and the churches, chapels and missions numbered 274. Eight orphanages sheltered over two thousand children, and thirteen industrial schools trained five thousand pupils.

Apart from the three cathedrals which he built, St. Patrick's pro-Cathedral, in Mulberry Street, the Cathedral of Albany, and St. Patrick's Cathedral on Fifth Avenue, Cardinal McCloskey's greatest legacy to

the archdiocese is his successful organization of the educational and charitable institutions of New York. No one realized the vital necessity of the parochial school as did Cardinal McCloskey. At the death of Archbishop Hughes, there were thirty-four parochial schools with a student-body of over sixteen thousand boys and girls. It is true that the great impulse towards parochial school education came only after the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884; but during the two decades preceeding that event, Cardinal McCloskey spared no effort to spread Catholic education throughout his diocese. He increased the number of church schools from thirty-four to one hundred and fifteen, of which sixty were for girls and fifty-five for boys. These schools contained over thirty-three thousand children, and their pupils were not only not inferior to the children of the State schools but often outrivalled them in competitive examinations.

Nor was higher education neglected. The Jesuits possessed two colleges of high standard — St. John's College, at Fordham, the nucleus of the present University, and St. Francis Xavier's College on West Sixteenth Street. Besides these two Jesuit institutions, the Christian Brothers conducted the well-known Manhattan College, with several subsidiary schools and institutes, in which "they prepared for the Church a fine body of priests, their proudest service, and for society a superb body of laymen, whose success in after years proved that self-sacrificing teachers could produce fine character and robust faith."

The Sisters of Charity led the way in the education

of girls. Their well-known institution, Mount St. Vincent-on-the-Hudson, and some twelve other academies and schools under their charge gave to the Catholic girls of the diocese every opportunity of competing favorably with the graduates of other colleges. The Ladies of the Sacred Heart, under Cardinal McCloskey's patronage, developed their splendid college at Manhattanville into one of the finest academies of the East. The Ursulines, the Dominican Sisters, the Franciscans, the Sisters of Mercy, and the Sisters of the Holy Cross, coöperated in this laudable work, and though they were never generously supported by the Catholic public of the day, they brought their institutions into prominence through methods which have since won for them a permanent place in educational circles throughout the State.

Cardinal McCloskey's efforts on behalf of clerical education have been described in detail in these pages. As first vice-President of the first Seminary at Nyack, as President of St. John's, Fordham, and as a partner with Archbishop Hughes in the foundation of the Provincial Seminary at Troy, N. Y., the name of Cardinal McCloskey will ever be found among the pioneer educators of New York State.

Among the numerous charitable works which occupied his attention during the twenty years of his administration, was the care he took of the orphans of the diocese. The two institutions in charge of the Sisters of Charity formed the nucleus of this work. A third, St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, was in the hands of the Notre Dame Sisters and sheltered at that time nearly five hundred German children. The New York Catho-

lic Protectory was incorporated under Cardinal McCloskey's direct care and was placed in the charge of the Christian Brothers. This great institution grew out of a work begun by the former Episcopal Bishop of North Carolina, the convert, Dr. Levi Silliman Ives.

A work, similar in design, was one equally famous, that of Father John Drumgoole, for the homeless boys of the city, for newsboys, and others who had no relatives or friends to care for them.

The Sisters of Mercy had three charitable institutions under their direction at this time; the Franciscan Sisters, and the Sisters of the Good Shepherd also directed charitable works.

The hospitals were not forgotten. St. Vincent's Hospital, in charge of the Sisters of Charity; St. Francis' Hospital, in charge of the Franciscan Sisters of the Poor; St. Joseph's Hospital, directed by the same community, and several others, were given that impetus by Cardinal McCloskey which has since gained for them the highest reputation in the city. "The crown of this edifice of charity," says Dr. John Talbot Smith, whose summary for 1885 we have been following, "was the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. There were fifty Conferences in the Diocese with one thousand members."

The historian always requires a long perspective to be a fair and impartial witness of the past. But even at this small distance, for it is only thirty-two years since Cardinal McCloskey went to his eternal reward, the character of America's first red-robed Prince of the Church bears the unmistakeable signs of greatness.

He filled a position alive with difficulties with a dignity and a success which stand out prominently in the story of the Catholic hierarchy of America. All the troubles which threatened the stability of Church organization in the time of his successor — the school question, Cahenslyism, the problem of American methods and viewpoints, — these and many other thorny subjects which need not be mentioned here, existed in his time, but his consummate prudence and his profound knowledge of men kept him from giving issue to movements which he felt could best be trusted to the gentle hand of Time.

Cardinal McCloskey was "a prince among princes, a man of learning and of fine parts, devoted to his church work, and well adapted to smooth over the asperities of the past and quell opposition by the meekness and gentleness of his manner." With this tribute from the great ecclesiastic of Rochester, Bishop McQuaid, to John McCloskey, a prince of peace and a saintly exemplar of all the episcopal virtues, this volume may be fittingly ended.

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